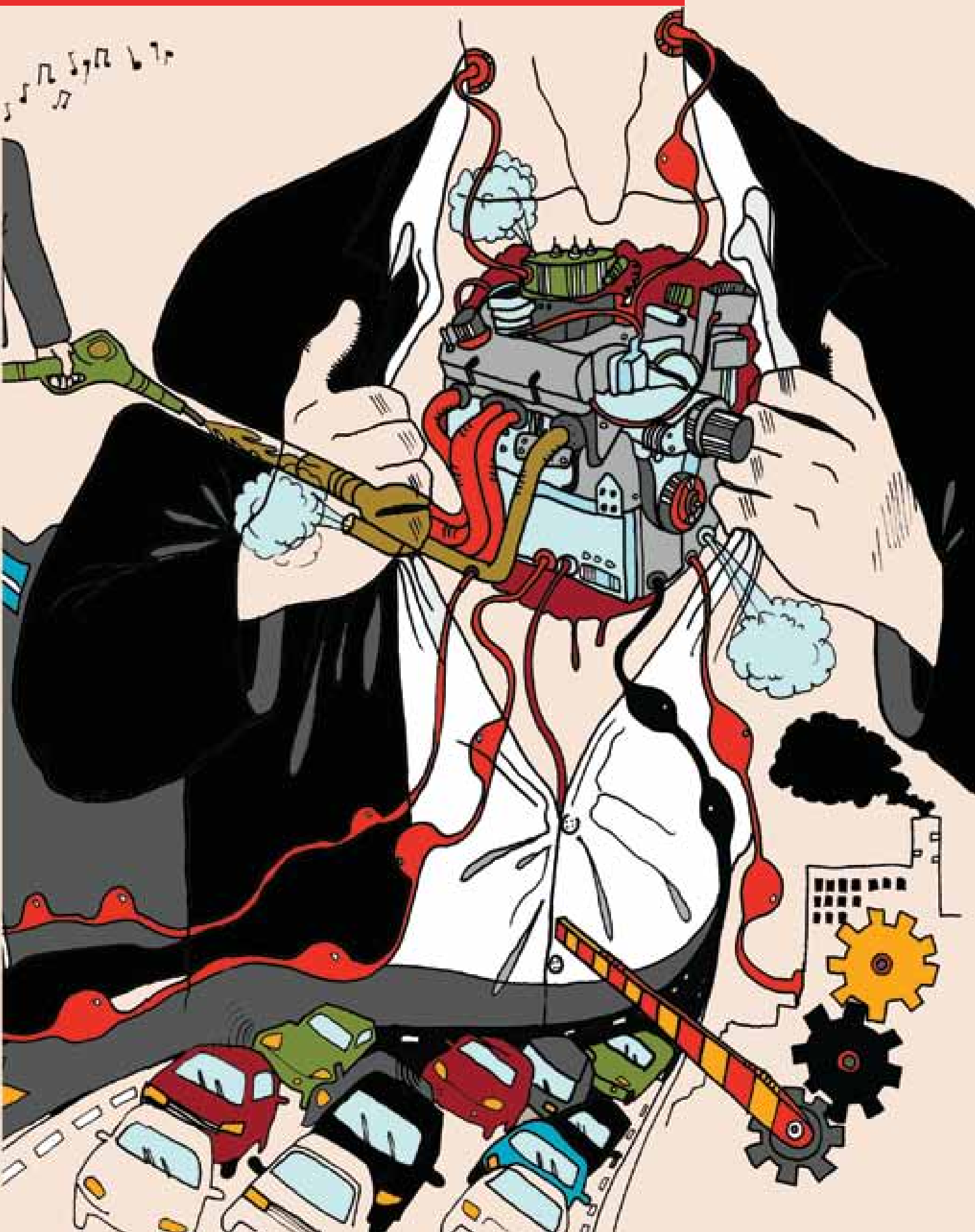
CARBUSTERS

JOURNAL OF THE CARFREE MOVEMENT #42 / JUN - AUG 2010



Space is Power

A car driver occupies approximately a thousand times more time-space (the time a certain amount of space is occupied) than a person travelling by public transport. The ecological footprint of a person living in a house is way bigger than a person living in an apartment. Space is power; and power means space. A person's potential to take place – occupy space – is deeply connected to that person's position in our social and economical class hierarchies.

The richer you are, the more space you are allowed to take, both on a local scale by driving a car and living in a bigger apartment or house, and on a global scale by depleting more natural resources than someone poorer. In spite of this, the discourse on how to live an eco-friendly life is often centred around certain behaviours such as buying eco-milk, recycling and maybe driving an eco-car, while ignoring real eco-friendly solutions, such as living in apartment housing and consuming less. A fact that, when seen in the light of the current trend of eco-friendly living, gives a sort of green card to people with a higher income, while imposing a certain guilt on lower income people who cannot afford eco-friendly products, even though they are taking up considerably less space.

In this issue of *Carbusters*, Debra Efroymson (page 18) finds herself in the middle of the Bangkok protests and offers an alternative view than of the mainstream media reports. She uses her notion of the suddenly carfree and people-occupied street she is standing on as a starting point to discuss a wider set of questions. What is the relation between space and power in a Metropolis of the Global South? How does space connect to questions of urbanity/rurality and economical hierarchies? And what does all of this have to do with the carfree movement?

"In a dense and over-crowded urban environment the distribution of space is one of the most pressing questions."

In a dense and over-crowded urban environment the distribution of space is one of the most pressing questions. As we move into the first century where more of the world's population will live in cities than in the countryside, finding ways to deal with everyone's right to urban space will be crucial. Starting there, World Carfree Network member organisation Planka.nu (page 20) introduces the concepts of the traffic hierarchy and automobility: two ways of understanding the relation between space, different means of conveyance and the right to the urban commons.

One of the many reasons that the car takes up so much time-space is its speed. The faster you go, the more space you need – for safety reasons among other things. Speed also distorts space and changes our perception of place: space made to conform to speed is faceless and boring. Hampus Rubaszkin (page 10) touches on the ideology of speed in his critical look at high-speed rail, where he argues that it is based on a different ideology than regular trains and that you cannot cure the illness of the modern car and plane-dependent society with the same thinking that created the problem. In the words of the late Ivan Illich: "High speed is the critical factor which makes transportation socially destructive. A true choice among practical policies and of desirable social relations is possible only where speed is restrained. Participatory democracy demands low-energy technology, and free people must travel the road to productive social relations at the speed of a bicycle."

Alexander Berthelsen

CARBUSTERS

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A Proposal on Global Warming

Part of the global warming problem is that people in China also want to own automobiles, and they are willing to burn more and more coal in order to try to reach a higher standard of living. F.E. (Ted) Trainer writes in his 2007 book *Renewable Energy Cannot Sustain a Consumer Society* that prospects are not good for technological innovation that would allow for storage of enough energy to provide for times when the sun is not shining or the wind is not blowing hard enough. China must burn fossil fuel in its economic development efforts.

The government of China would like more power in world politics, and knows that a wealthier country can afford a stronger military. The richer countries must give ground to the poorer countries. China and India have a strong negotiating position, because a global warming agreement is impossible without their cooperation.

I propose that an agreement on global warming call for the richer countries to reduce the size of their economies, while the poorer countries put a freeze on their economic development. The United States should withdraw from military bases in Asia so that China and India feel less of a need to build up their war-making potential. Providing more government funding to support public transit, bicycling and walking would be an important part of the solution.

For a discussion of how dealing with global warming crisis will place constraints on economic development, see Tom Athanasiou's article, "After Copenhagen," on the www.ecoequity.org website.

Milton Takei, Eugene, Oregon, USA

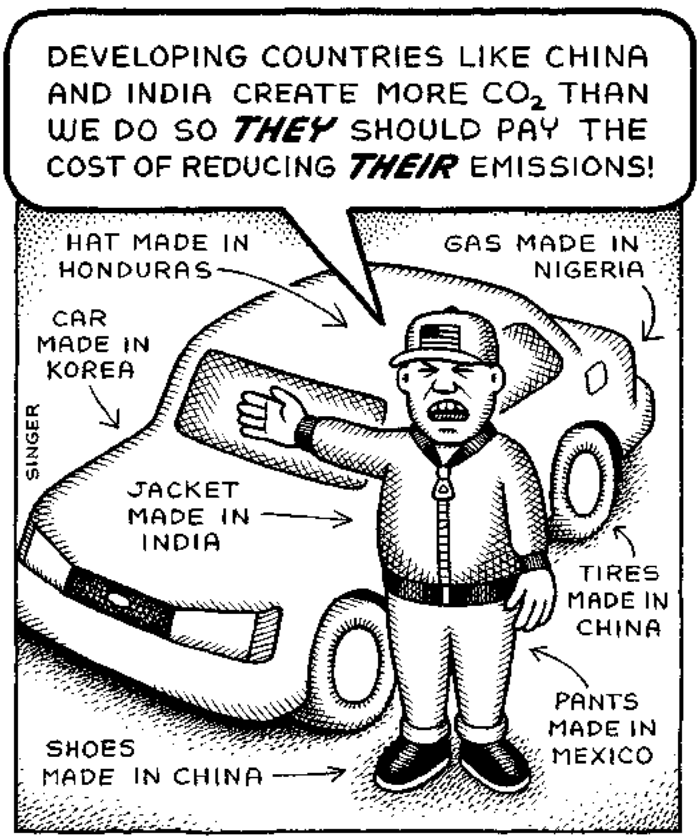
carfree poem

How Close My Town is to Being Carfree

The first thing my neighbors G & M
said to me was: *we want to rent*
your carport. They'd seen the for-sale sign come down,
the moving van arrive, the lights on at night even though
no car was parked out back. They'd asked around: she's single,
a teacher, doesn't own a car. I asked *what's wrong*
with your carport? G said *we have two cars parked there already*
and want to keep our truck out of the sun. I'd heard about
them too: retired, just G & M living there. *We were thinking*
twenty dollars a month, M said, *extra money for you*
for nothing. Nothing? Twenty dollars wouldn't come close
to making up for the slam, stink and grind
of a starting car. *How about this*, I countered, *I'll pay you*
twenty dollars a month if you get rid of two cars
and share one. We haven't talked since.
The truck's parked on the street.

Kelly Nelson

NO EXIT © Andy Singer


DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LIKE CHINA AND INDIA CREATE MORE CO_2 THAN WE DO SO THEY SHOULD PAY THE COST OF REDUCING THEIR EMISSIONS!
HAT MADE IN HONDURAS
GAS MADE IN NIGERIA
CAR MADE IN KOREA
SINGER
JACKET MADE IN INDIA
TIRES MADE IN CHINA
PANTS MADE IN MEXICO
SHOES MADE IN CHINA

by | Titom

Parking Space into People Space

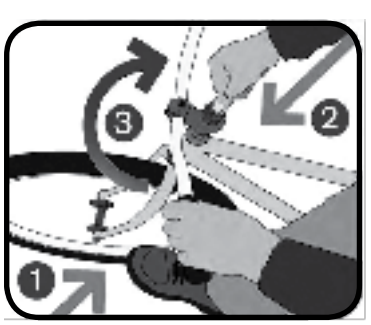
In San Francisco, the people behind Park(ing) Day have found a new, and permanent way to transform parking spaces. "We're taking this relatively narrow sidewalk and taking out three pretty superfluous parking spots and we're increasing the value of the streetscape by making it a place for people to hang out, to enjoy themselves and use an informal public space," says project manager Blaine Merker.

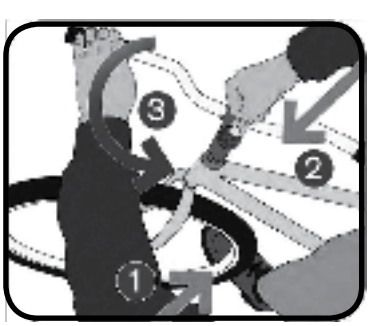
The 60 foot linear parklet is composed of pre-fabricated modular sections, made of welded steel frames with bamboo decking, affixed to the curb edge. The modules have different components, some simple flat sidewalk extensions, others with seating. Two modules have bike racks and several modules will be deep benches that allow reclining.
www.rebargroup.org

London's New Bus Goes Green

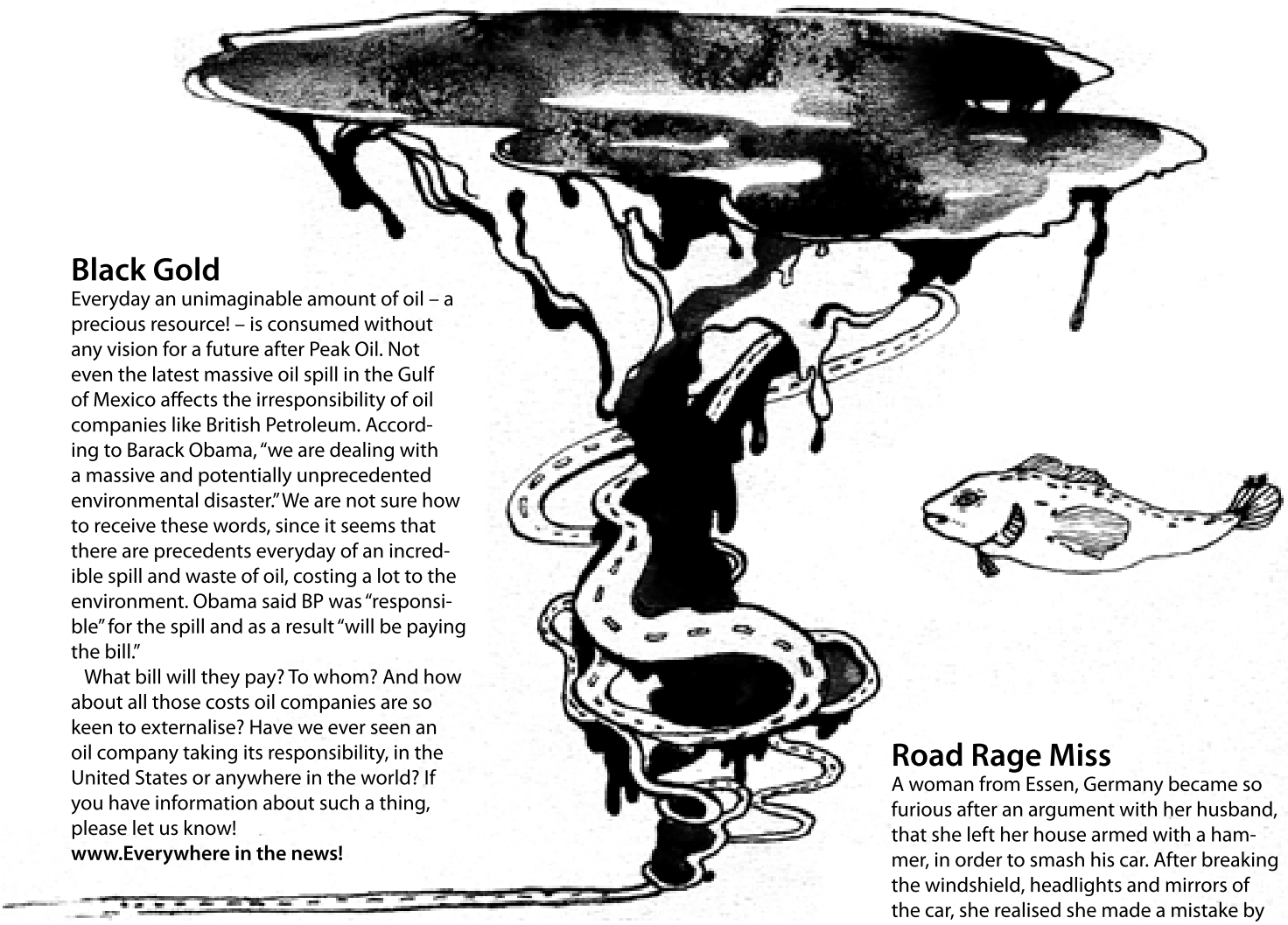
London's classic Routemaster bus will be replaced by a new futuristic-looking and more efficient double-decker bus. London's mayor Boris Johnson and Transport for London officially unveiled the new bus co-designed by The Wright Group and Thomas Heatherwick. It is constructed to use the latest green hybrid technology, which is 15 percent more fuel efficient than existing hybrid buses and 40 percent more efficient than conventional diesel double deckers. Furthermore, it will be much quieter on the streets. Each bus has three doors, two staircases and an open rear platform that can open and close in order to facilitate quicker boarding. Its stylish futuristic look is supposed to be an emblem of 21st century London. The bus is set to be in service by 2012.
www.tfl.gov.uk

Flipphandle





The flipphandle is a handy little invention that allows you to turn the handlebars of a bike 90º at the push of a button, it lines up the handlebar with the front wheel and the frame so the bike lies or stacks flat. The flipphandle can be installed in the bike you already have and operates without tools, you just push down on the locking button and it securely locks the handlebars in either the "drive" or "store" position.
The flipphandle flattens the bicycle to facilitate transportation, makes it possible to hang the bike against a wall and reduces storage space in bike parking places.
www.bikesnapp.com



Black Gold

Everyday an unimaginable amount of oil – a precious resource! – is consumed without any vision for a future after Peak Oil. Not even the latest massive oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico affects the irresponsibility of oil companies like British Petroleum. According to Barack Obama, "we are dealing with a massive and potentially unprecedented environmental disaster." We are not sure how to receive these words, since it seems that there are precedents everyday of an incredible spill and waste of oil, costing a lot to the environment. Obama said BP was "responsible" for the spill and as a result "will be paying the bill."

What bill will they pay? To whom? And how about all those costs oil companies are so keen to externalise? Have we ever seen an oil company taking its responsibility, in the United States or anywhere in the world? If you have information about such a thing, please let us know!

www.Everywhere in the news!

A New Friend of the Earth

"As part of our risk management framework, we systematically assess and manage the risks inherent in our operations, such as those arising from technical integrity failure and loss of containment of hydrocarbons and other hazardous materials, or the risks that arise to the personal safety of our workforce or members of the public. Our systems of risk management provide a response through the establishment of standards and controls."

"Technology applied throughout our operations helps minimise the environmental impact of finding and producing energy."

"We track our greenhouse gas emissions at a group-wide level. Other environmental aspects – such as air emissions, waste and water, and access to protected areas – are reported on locally, where the management of the issue occurs."

"We have a record of conducting operations worldwide in a way that benefits local communities – from Indonesia to Trinidad and Angola to Azerbaijan. We will be following the same principles in Alberta, where consultation is also a matter of regulation."

www.bp.com

Car Cult

As we all know, the car is a strong cultural feature of our industrial societies. Many citizens all over the world devote an amazing amount of time to their car – talking about it, working for it, enjoying a car trip to rest, cleaning their car to relax. Everyday new adepts cross novel limits, tuning up their car, spending more money, or even praying for their car. Some could think that facing death, adepts of car cult would change their minds and start considering other ways of life. But this is an insult to the adepts' faithfulness, following their cult beyond death. This was last illustrated this May in eastern London, UK, where a 51-year-old man decided to get buried in a tomb in the shape of a BMW. According to a spokesman for the cemetery, "it looks rather magnificent." *Carbusters* finds it hard to consider such a "feat" magnificent, but rather grotesque and alarming. We guess it is a question of beliefs...

www.metro.co.uk

Road Rage Miss

A woman from Essen, Germany became so furious after an argument with her husband, that she left her house armed with a hammer, in order to smash his car. After breaking the windshield, headlights and mirrors of the car, she realised she made a mistake by confusing the vehicle of her husband, a blue Ford Fiesta, with the Opel Corsa of the same colour belonging to his neighbour. Damage was estimated at about 1,000€. We all know it, anger makes us blind.

www.caradisiac.com

Berlin's Latest (road) Rage

Don't have a car of your own, yet want to enjoy the incredible sensation of drive-in theatres? Well, those lucky enough to live in Berlin had the chance last March to visit the free "art" exhibit entitled "Auto Kino", which offered the chance to go to an indoor USA-in-the-60's style drive-in movie theatre, and sit in a car provided for you, inside an exhibition hall with a big cinema screen. Before the (mostly bad) short films started, the screen encouraged people to "make themselves comfortable, put the seat back, relax." Then, immediately, viewers became part of the joke: "Trust yourself. HONK! NOW!" It was unclear why exactly they wanted people, after relaxing, to then feel the full effects of road rage angst within the small enclosed environment.

www.kunsthalle-berlin.com

Don't Disturb the Traffic

Last year, government officials from Guanzhu, China had to face a rise of suicides on a particular bridge in the city. They were of course not preoccupied with this social issue, but rather with the traffic jams created by the disturbance. According to government spokesman Shiu Liang, they tried everything: "We tried employing guards at both ends, but that didn't work – and we put up special fences and notices asking people not to commit suicide here. None of this worked – so now we have put butter over the bridge and it has worked very well. Nobody can get up there and anybody who tries either falls (or..?)" Clever, isn't it?
www.metro.co.uk

Parking on the Edge

Last month in Tusla, United States, a car broke through an outside wall on the 6th floor of a parking garage and was hanging over the edge. The 67-year-old driver told the police that he somehow got his foot stuck under the gas pedal. There were no injuries in the accident; only a few parked cars where hit. In spite of this apparent lack of control over his car, the driver did not get any warning, nor even a ticket for this accident. Let us hope there will always be a wall to prevent him from flying on our heads.
www.newson6.com

Trapped by his Car

Last month, a driver living close to Nice, France had a new experience of what it is like to be trapped by technology. On his way home, he was going up a small hill in his car, a Citroën C4, when its electronic system broke down. As all functions were dependent on electronics, the driver could neither start his car nor use its hand brake. He was therefore trapped for more than one hour in his car, unable to release his brakes or leave his car. Driving is freedom.
www.france-info.com

please send us your "Car Cult" pieces! editors@carbusters.org

© Gail Jennings

© Time's Up!

Carfree in Kalk Bay, Cape Town

One day every March, for 35,000 people in Cape Town and their supporters and families, it is "all about the bike", as the city hosts the world's largest individually-timed bicycle race.

But, for everyone else within hearing distance of the race, it is all about the car – and how to get by without it. That's because Cape Town – not a city particularly friendly toward cyclists on every other day – closes some 120km or so of freeway and suburban roads to vehicles.

This year, a collection of non-racing cyclists decided to cash in on Cape Town's "accidental" annual carfree day and make it "official", laying claim to a little strip of main road between the Kalk Bay harbour, the beach and the city's most picturesque rail line on the one side, and the race-route on the other. Traffic police kept private cars out at the cycle tour end, and orange bollards and a security guard discouraged cars at the other. And so it happened that the bookshop, the baker and the pancake maker did a brisk trade for passers-by, dog walkers and race-watchers; children (and a few grown-ups) drew chalk patterns on the tar, and Sunday morning felt suitably slow-paced and carfree. Far more effective than a road sign-post saying, "slow down, children playing", is, er, children playing.

"Where do you usually ride?", I asked one small boy in a crash helmet. "Nowhere", he said. "It's my first time." Then he laid down on his skateboard to recover…

Gail Jennings

Bureau Of Organized Bikelane Safety

On Friday, March 19th, agent-technicians from the Bureau Of Organized Bikelane Safety (B.O.O.B.S.) descended by bicycle on the intersection of Broadway and 23rd Street in New York. The B.O.O.B.S. is charged with clean-up and removal of all gas-guzzling, dangerous vehicles illegally parked in and polluting city bike lanes. While preparing to patrol, multiple members of the media competed for the inside scoop on the B.O.O.B.S. Several civilian bicyclist supporters joined the ride in hopes of seeing the action.

The agents slowly proceeded up 6th Avenue, targeted for clean-up due to noxious amounts of motor vehicle traffic. Though encountering an estimated average of 1.5 toxic obstructions per block, the B.O.O.B.S. team found that the bikelane contamination level, while still very hazardous, was less than expected. It only takes one toxic obstruction to sully the utility and beauty of a bikelane. Several obstructions were only partial, and removal was generally prompt as the team employed clean-up methods including gentle reminders to polluters of the law regarding bikelanes. A choreographed de-briefing occurred at the end of the patrol.

The B.O.O.B.S. is hard at work to clean up these pollutants which disrupt the delicate urban environment, but it will take some major inter-agency cooperation to prevent all the Class II bikelanes in New York City from being declared Superfund sites.

Time's Up!
www.times-up.org

© Svenja von Glerke

© Planka.nu

Munich's First Bike Night

About 4,000 bikers took part in Munich's first Bike Night – an approximately four kilometre long bike tour around the city centre along prominent roads and boulevards. It was the kick-off event for Munich's ambitious bike campaign: Munich wants to become the "bike capital" of Europe. For about two hours, the roads and the city tunnel around the city centre were blocked for cars, so only bikers – dressed up in bright colors and funny hats, with creatively decorated and brightly flashing and blinking bikes – conquered the streets of Munich's inner circle. It was a very novel and fascinating sight, as the inner circle is usually buzzing with cars jamming the road and deafening the fearful pedestrian and biker with reckless drivers honking their horns. But this time, it was the bikers ringing their bells and blowing their whistles: the bikers were in power.

The biking campaign of the city of Munich aims to promote the use of bikes within the city and to enhance the safety of bikers. The city council has increased the financial resources available for the expansion and development of a safe biking infrastructure within the city. Further events like the streetcasting activity "Munich Biking Idol" and the Bicycle Film Festival in December 2010 want to involve the citizens of Munich actively and directly in the campaign. Biking is not only celebrated as a means of getting from A to B, but first and foremost as a modern lifestyle.

Svenja von Gierke

A Free Ride is a Fun Ride!

This year the international free public transport day took place on Saturday the 6th of March, and to celebrate it the Swedish commuter organisation Planka.nu arranged a huge – and free! – subway party. The idea was to raise awareness of the free public transport day and the question of making the public transport free, but also to celebrate and increase the feeling of community amongst the commuters in Stockholm.

We boarded the subway train at its first station and dressed it in pink garlands, balloons and Planka.nu merchandise. Then we turned up the volume on our newly released dubstep remix of the 70's hit single "Love Train" from The O'Jays to welcome everyone boarding the train at the next station, Stockholm Central.

By first making their way into the subway for free and then jumping on the pink party train, all commuters going from the centre of Stockholm out into the suburbs could start their Saturday night party in the subway! Together we partied and celebrated a day of resistance to the fare-society.

The public transport is a place where Stockholmers spend a lot of time, and we wanted it to be more fun, more welcoming… and more pink! In the words of the former major, and founding father of the subway in Stockholm, the late Hjalmar Mehr: "Public transport is built for the common people, it is the carfree's daily traffic route, every ride should be a feast, every station a colorful fairy castle!"

Alexander Berthelsen
www.planka.nu

article by | Hampus Rubaszkin illustration by | Fernanda Torre

High-Speed Rail: Green or Mean?

High-speed rail is often touted as a means to move forward and beyond the current modes for long distance transport. Its advocates tells us that, by combining the low energy use of trains and the high speed of planes, it will be the best option for our future transport needs. But is it really so? In this article Hampus Rubaszkin debunks some of the myths surrounding high-speed trains and argues that we can't solve our transport problems by using the same kind of thinking that created them.

Approximately 150 years ago, the train revolutionised travel and transport. Dangerous and difficult journeys by boat or horse wagon were replaced by a radically faster and more reliable system. The glorious times of the trains lasted until about 50 years ago, when the heavy competition of cars and planes put train travel on a slope.

Now the train is prophesied to make a comeback. More countries are planning high-speed rail (HSR) developments, and the primary argument is the need to decrease the enormous carbon emissions from the transport sector.

Can HSR play a part in our endeavour to achieve social and environmental sustainability? There are many reasons to doubt that. Although a high-speed train may look similar to a regular train (only more streamlined), in fact the concept, infrastructure and even ideology of HSR is very different to what trains used to be.

Advocates claim that HSR would cause a shift from fossil-fuel dependent travel on road and by air, to rail transport, potentially powered by renewable energy. A common argument is that some HSR-lines have caused a decrease in flights between the endpoints on those lines, which is true. But if we really want to evaluate the effects HSR have, we should look at a much broader picture.

For every investment in HSR there is also an alternative use of the money. In order to become a fast, safe and affordable alternative to car travel, local and regional public transport is in desperate need of funding. A tragic example is the terrible commuter-train accident in Belgium earlier this year. Belgium is investing millions of euro in HSR, and at the same time the safety standard of local trains has deteriorated to a point where lives are placed at risk.

Another example is the crowded and slow bus line 4 in central Stockholm. It has more passengers every day than the total railway net in Sweden. Plans to convert the line to high capacity trams have been postponed for more than 20 years due to lack of funding. At the same time six out of seven parties in the Swedish parliament are prepared to spend 13 billion euro or more on HSR in Sweden. As proven, HSR lines can draw a few privileged passengers away from inland air travel, but is it really the right priority, when the same money could be just what we need in order to get millions of commuters out of their cars, and on to public transport?

With HSR, endpoint inhabitants in major cities will have a new alternative to travel fast and convenient from city to city. But the people in between are likely to end up with fewer train connections (high-speed trains make few stops), or no train station at all. Because of the need to make HSR-lines very straight, it is also likely that the in-between stations will be built away from city centres, surrounded by malls and shopping centres in connection to the new station. The effect of that is – as we all know – increased car dependence.

Building HSR is extremely expensive and, as a consequence, so is their ticket price. Since the HSR service started running from Paris to Brussels, there is no regular train service left on the route. Ticket prices on the HSR-line are very expensive, and so the budget traveler ends up with two options: bus or car.

Now, what effect will HSR have on carbon emissions? First, the high speed of the trains (top speed 300 km/h) increases energy consumption by at least 60 percent, compared to a modern train operating at regular speed (top speed 200 km/h). Some may argue that in the future this won't be a problem, because then the energy will be renewable. But we know that for a long time ahead, most electricity in the world will continue to be generated from fossil fuels. High energy consumption equals fossil fuels burned, equals increased CO_2 emissions.

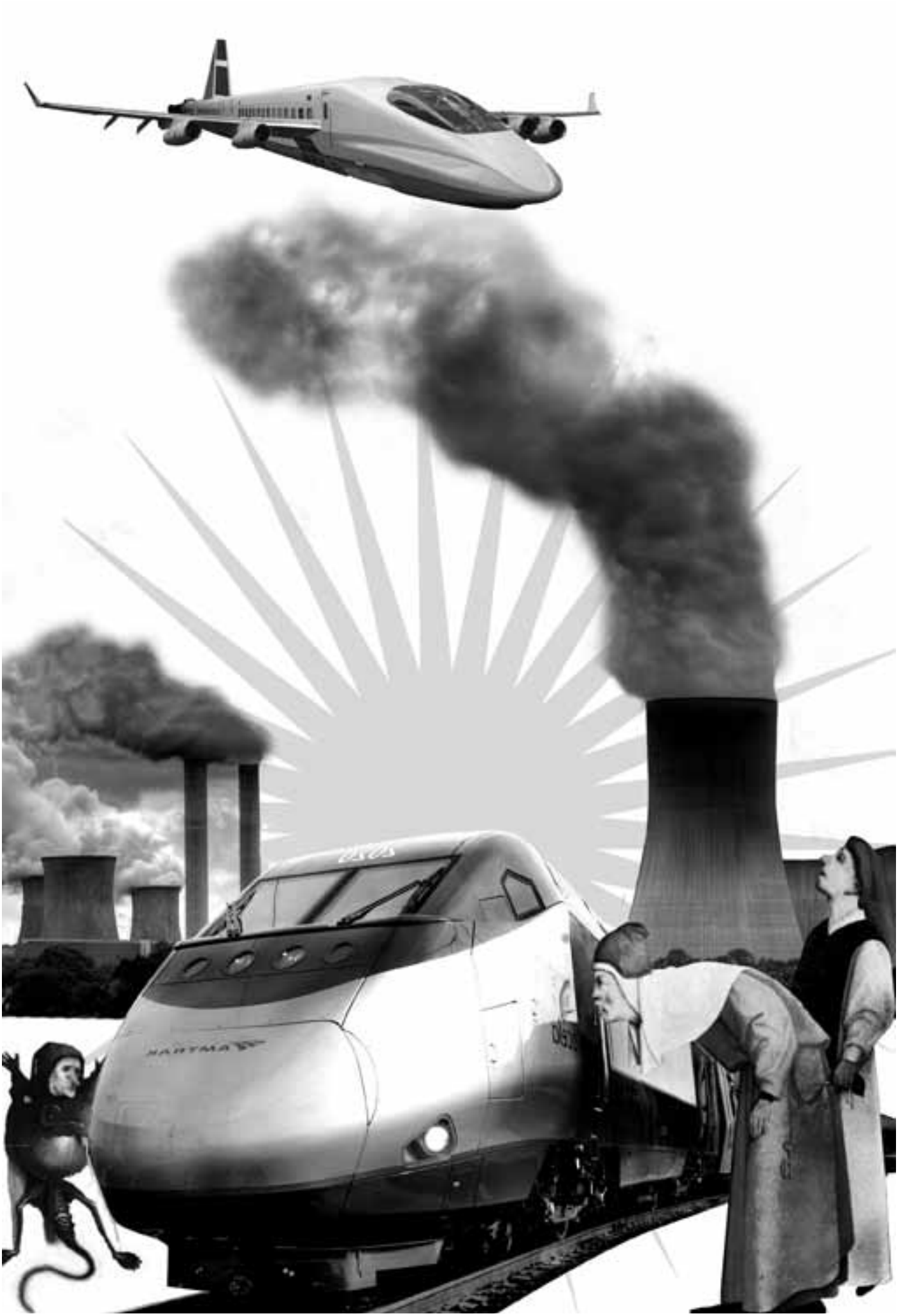
Second, the ability of HSR to generate new traffic must be addressed. As described by Per Kågesson, researcher in environmental- and energy-systems analysis, at least 25 percent of the trips will be newly generated.

In the study Kågesson also concluded that one million yearly single trips on a typical 500 km line resulted in a reduction of about 9,000 tons of CO_2-equivalents. That is about the same amount as the yearly personal emissions of 900 EU citizens. Considering that building the line causes millions of tons of CO_2 emissions, 9,000 tons is negligible. It could take 50 years before even the carbon-debt of building the line is repaid. The climate crisis calls for a much faster response than that.

Calculating the indirect effects is more tricky. In order to do it you would need a systems analysis involving many assumptions about future development. So far there is no proof whatsoever that HSR would be helpful in building a less carbon-emitting society. On the contrary, there are many indications that it's the other way around. More and more airliners start their own HSR-lines, or start co-operating with HSR-companies. Now you can even do the flight check-in on the train! What impact HSR can have on car-dependence is already described above.

We all know that we need to shift to a society much less dependent on cars and planes. But in doing that we must make sure that we do not build a new unsustainable infrastructure. Local and regional rail investments, combined with airliners starting to pay for their external costs through fuel taxes, is likely to be the fastest and most fair way to make that shift. ■

Hampus Rubaszkin *is a member of the Swedish Green Party and the Traffic and Waste Management Committee in the Stockholm City Hall.*



article by | Silas Archambault

What Lies Beneath

Vancouver has, over and over again, been dubbed the world's most livable city and, according to Silas Archambault, it is definitely one the best North American cities from a carfree perspective. But even in such a place there are many things to do to cure auto dependence, especially by making shorter out of town weekend trips available to carfree dwellers.

Vancouver is, as far as North America goes, a great place to be a pedestrian. Button-activated cross signals can be found at nearly every intersection, and are generally quick to stop automobiles for light-footed travelers. The city is on a grid network with small blocks, making it easy to take a relatively direct route. Recreational walkers can enjoy the seawall which covers most of the waterfront for the entire city. The city is even considering establishing a network of designated pedestrian corridors in the downtown. These pedestrian corridors will feature a combination of dedicated right-of-way, public art, prioritized crossing, and community events.

Unlike many other cities which were built or retrofitted for automobiles, Vancouver took a more democratic approach of toleration. As the birthplace of Greenpeace, sensitivity to environmental impacts has a long tradition in Vancouver. The city is not very old, as it was only incorporated in 1886, beginning development just before the automobile uprising. The arterial commercial pattern found throughout the city is a relic of streetcar lines. Like nearly every North American city (with the exception of Toronto), Vancouver streetcars were replaced with buses as the city embraced rubber-wheeled mobility. However, political action in the Chinatown district also halted the construction of a through-city highway – a victory shared by few cities.

While Vancouver has been planned as an amenable and pleasant city for carfree mobility, it is simultaneously well-built for cars. Wide streets provide on-street parking on both sides. A grid network provides many routes and a high capacity for vehicles. Underground parking is abundant, with some buildings providing two underground parking stalls for every dwelling unit. At an average cost of CAN$40,000 per spot, underground parking is a significant investment. In 2006, 312,070 registered vehicles were shared between 578,041 Vancouverites. Despite this, only 50 percent of trips in Vancouver are made by individuals driving alone. This may seem like an awful lot of cars if you look at the city alone.

But in Vancouver, you can't help but look at

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the mountains which loom above the North Shore. In many ways, Vancouver is defined by the outdoor amenities which surround it: Burrard Inlet, the Rocky Mountains, the Fraser Valley to the east, the Salish Sea to the west. Outdoor recreational opportunities abound: hiking, skiing, kayaking, sailing, cycling, backpacking – just to name a few. If you don't like the great outdoors, this city probably isn't for you. Everything about Vancouver is in reference to the natural setting. The great outdoors becons. Unfortunately, only those with access to a car can fully enjoy it.

In fact, Vancouver is struck by an interesting transportation problem. Most North American cities contain massive central business districts which draw in commuters from up to two hours away by transit or by driving. These cities, such as Atlanta, Chicago, and Boston, swell during the day, replete with traffic congestion and street vendors. The evening sees a reverse commute where commuters and their cars get stuck trying to get back out of the city before the sun goes down. In Vancouver, people actually live in the city, and they enjoy it to boot. However, just as American suburbanites enjoy their little patch of green at the end of the day, Vancouverites want to throw themselves into the great big green (or blue, or white) outside of the city on the weekends. Friday evening through Sunday is when we get our big traffic problems. This outdoor exodus is precisely why the city contains more than one car for every two Vancouverites. Some people don't want to share their ride on the way out.

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The fact of the matter is that in Vancouver no one needs a car. Unlike Los Angeles or Phoenix, you can easily get around without one. Of course, the problem still remains of how to get out of the city. Nice for recreation, crucial for disaster evacuation, cars consume a pretty sizely space in the city. Last year, the city lowered minimum parking requirements for many areas. They also approved a bylaw that allows laneway housing to replace car parking. Vancouver has also announced itself "the Greenest City in the World" (or at least aspires to be) with a target of 50 percent alternative transportation use by 2020.

For better or for worse, the city has already been built. Cars are a part of the city, and will continue to be until Vancouverites can no longer afford the four-wheeled luxury goods. In the mean time, car sharing organisations such as zipcar and the Cooperative Auto Network are popular and offer a whole new form of automobile access. The city now allows for reduced parking requirements of five to one for every carshare vehicle in a development. What Vancouver needs now is transit that reflects the reverse commute patterns and brings city dwellers to their far-flung recreation destinations. With just a little less money and a little more creativity, Vancouverites could give up their cars. Of course, the question remains: what do we do with all of that vacant underground space? ■

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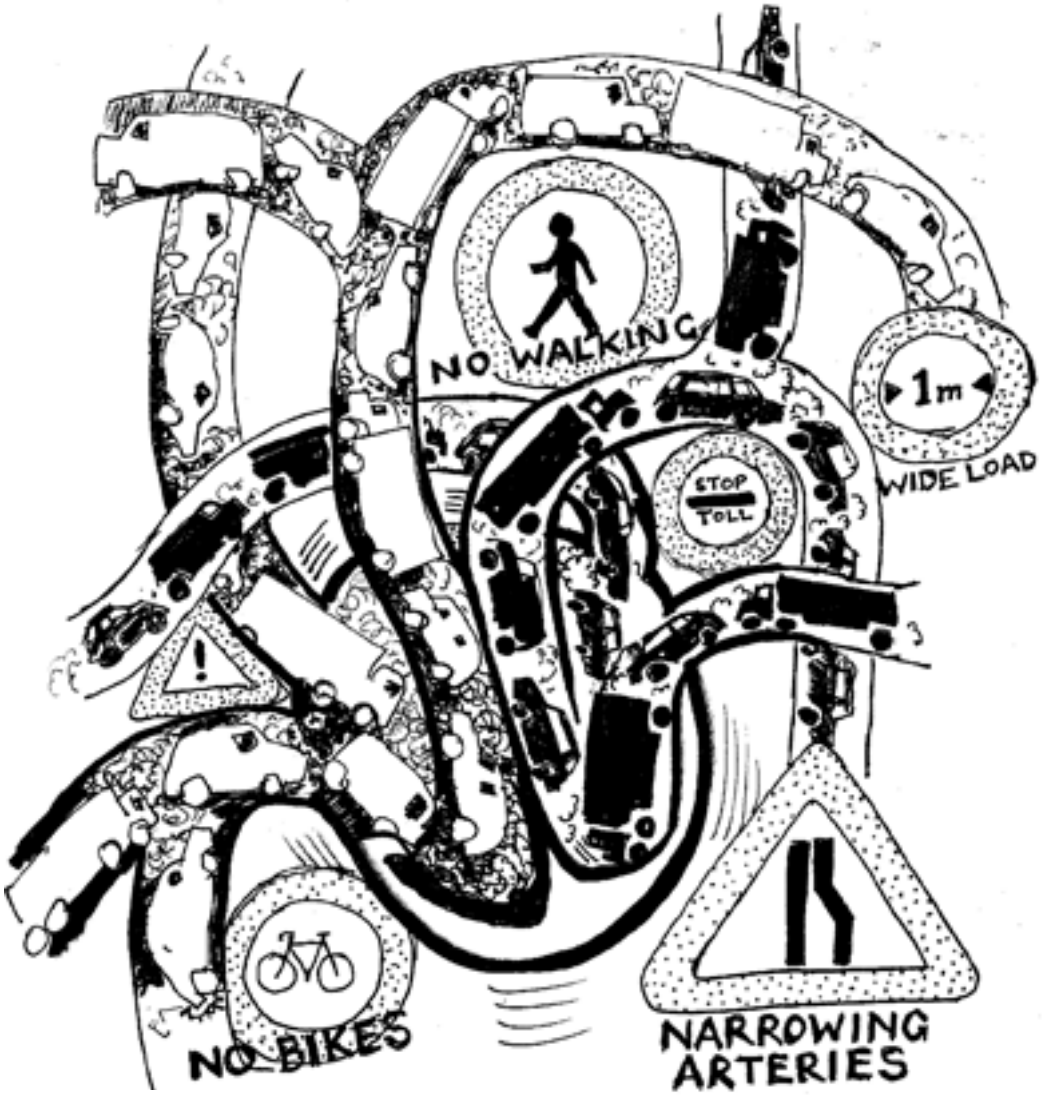
article and illustration by | Roger Bysouth



Expensive, Unhealthy, Destructive – But Still Here. Why?

There is now irrefutable evidence proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that cars place a huge cost on societies worldwide: loss of health and human lives, degradation of urban environment, a changing climate, and an economic burden that is shared by drivers and non-drivers alike. Yet, even though we are aware of all those far-reaching negative consequences, we seem unable to deal with the threat of the automobile. In this article Roger Bysouth explores why it is so and what we can do to change it.

Cycling is healthy, compared with driving. Everyone knows that, even the most high-octane petrol head. This might not matter much if transportation were a marginal activity that took up only a very small part of people's time and the world's resources. But the trend all over the world is toward less physical activity, more driving and consequently worse health, primarily through obesity and pollution. Car driving is only one factor in this, but a very important one.

Then there are road deaths and injuries. The World Health Organisation (WHO), in its *Global Status Report on Road Safety*, 2009, predicts that deaths in road traffic will increase from 1.2 million per year (the ninth biggest cause) now to 2.4 million per year (the fifth biggest cause) in 2030. In 2007, road accidents cost the UK's National Health Service £470m a year and the UK economy £8bn a year; all money that could have been better spent.

A Major Killer

The pollution and lack of physical activity that cars entail contribute to most of the other major killers that the WHO identifies in the world today. We have collectively achieved extraordinary reductions in deaths from communicable diseases. But we seem unable to deal with the threat from cars, a prime cause of other preventable diseases, like coronary heart disease, Type 2 diabetes and cancers which are affected directly by our habits. Our assessment of the health risk our lifestyle brings seems at fault, as though we are in denial.

Car driving has a still wider effect on health. Most deaths from road traffic injuries in most of the world, as calculated by the WHO in the report above, are not those of drivers but of vulnerable road users (cyclists, motorcyclists and pedestrians). The ill health from vehicle pollution disproportionately affects the world's poor. Ultimately cars are contributing to climate change and so threatening the environment on which the health and well-being of all of us depend.

Medical care is a part of what determines health. The others are genetic, which can't

be changed, and environmental and societal, which can be changed, for better or worse. Car culture damages many of them: social support networks and an environment safe from pollution and the threat of injury, that offers the opportunity to be physically active.

If we are aware of its adverse health consequences, why does car culture have such a hold? Why, for many individuals, can it seem like an addiction? How has it become a pandemic? And what can we do about it?

A Complex Phenomenon

There is no single answer. Most of the relevant responses are perspectives on what car culture is. It's seen as an ideology; a belief system; economics; disease, and habit. If we are to tackle it, we should first recognise it is a multi-faceted phenomenon that operates at many levels that reinforce each other. If we are to make any impact on any one aspect of it, for example if health agencies want to lessen its adverse health impact, we have to tackle it at all levels.

It would be useful to look at the ways through which other preventable health emergencies have been addressed. Since 1945 many major communicable diseases have been curbed. Recently there has been success on banning smoking in the west/north. None of these issues was a disease requiring a purely medical response.

Attitudes to smoking have changed in a generation. Where smoking was the norm for most adults and exposure an accepted part of everyday life, things are now very different. Many states, all receiving tax revenue for cigarettes legitimately sold and some profiting from a monopoly of domestic tobacco manufacturing, have tried to dissuade people from smoking for health reasons. Their motives are not only altruistic. The cost for dealing with smoking related disease is gigantic.

And all this has been achieved despite tobacco advertising, partly because this has often been restricted since the 1960s. The popular view of smoking has changed. In many places, it is now socially and legally unacceptable to smoke in public places including workplaces.

Just some of the lessons for addressing car culture are:

1. Seemingly entrenched attitudes can change. Think how the Dutch increased their cycling in the 1970s as a result of government action (see Lyn Sloman's Car Sick, Green Books, 2006, p. 98).

2. Legislation can help persuade people to change behaviour, but can't work on its own.

3. Political will is crucial. Governments want economic growth and car manufacture is seen as a keystone of national economies. So challenging the car industry is not an option for most governments. This article is written during the UK's general election campaign. All major parties firmly agree on the need to boost economic growth, including through the car industry.

4. Influencing people through the media can be effective. Both advertisers and public health specialists can make a difference.

These lessons can help us to frame different responses to match the many aspects of car culture. Perhaps the most important changes need to be made in people's minds.

Incentives and Disincentives

At the economic level there is a wide range of incentives and disincentives to persuade people to change modes of transport: improvements to public transport and better conditions for pedestrians and cyclists as well as taxation, congestion charging and carbon rationing. Other economic issues, like car ownership (and the low extra marginal costs of using cars), need to be addressed. In democratic states it is also important to spread awareness of the financial costs the car manufacturers currently externalise from their balance sheets, obliging the state to pick up: especially in the costs of treating preventable disease, transport infrastructure and more. Wouldn't we rather be able to spend this on something else?

Another area of influencing people is advertising itself. Car culture is constantly reinforced by the auto industry's advertising and its power is enormous, much stronger than the tobacco industry's ever was.

The car industry would no doubt argue, as tobacco companies do, that they do not aim to increase the total number of people buying cars, merely to increase their company's market share. It is true that there are many other ways in which car culture recruits converts, from children's (especially boys') toys, to popular magazines on cars and dedicated TV programmes. As commercial products, they exist because of demand for them. But they are, with car advertising, the everyday means by which car culture is stimulated.

The "Nudge" Effect

A related avenue for influencing people is the "nudge" effect (Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein, Nudge, Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth and Happiness, Penguin, 2009). While preserving people's right to choose an unhealthy option, "nudging" designs the way people are offered choices so, unless they have strong feelings, they are more likely to choose the healthy option. Examples include British local authorities successfully nudging people to switch from cars (see www.smartertravelsutton.org).

Public health campaigning can guide us in choosing messages. Studies show people may resolve to change health-related behaviour in response to shocking or shaming messages at times. But people are more likely to respond to encouraging, practical messages to help them deal with practical problems that could otherwise make them go back to their old ways. (See Geoff Mulgan, Influencing Public Behaviour to Improve Health and Wellbeing, an independent report, 2010.)

The treatment of addiction also offers models for influencing individual car addicts. Here are just a few of the many parallels between addiction and car culture:

- a pleasure-seeking risk-taking activity
- dependency that is both psychological (we believe we can't do without it) and physical (poor health such as obesity, engendered by cars, makes us more dependent on them)
- denial about the scale of the problem
- withdrawal symptoms – what else are the stress and road rage associated with being stuck in traffic?

A "Natural Right"?

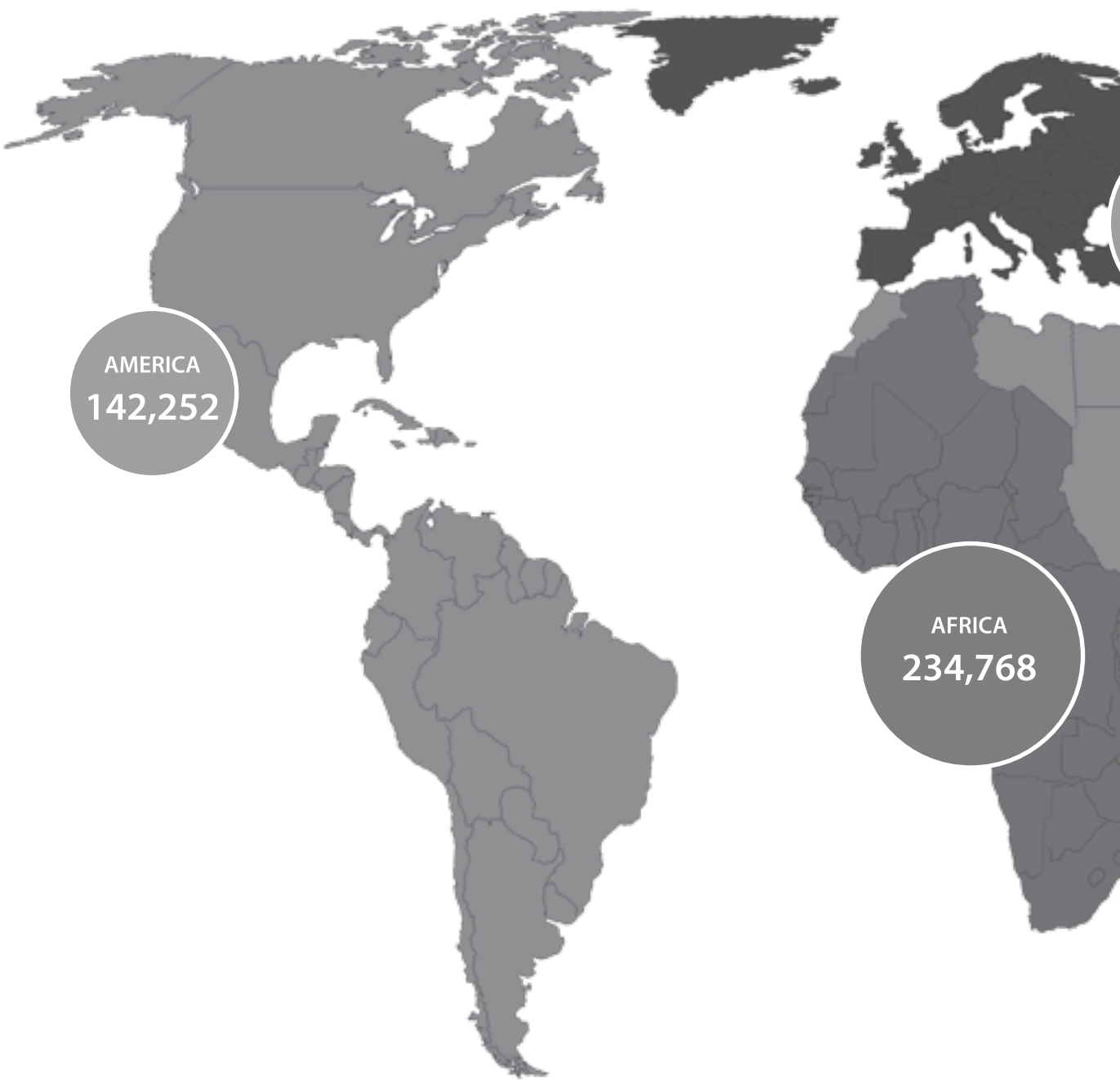
Finally, one of our core beliefs about car driving is that it is a "natural right." Hence we encounter deep-seated attitudes, for instance that drivers have a right to use roads as they please, and to fuel at what they define as an affordable price. These are reinforced by advertising and other transmitters of car culture: the car lobbying organisations and media. But we know that such attitudes are not universal. Lyn Sloman (op. cit. p. 56) explains car drivers are not all unshakeable in their "addiction." She cites evidence that around half of all car drivers would need little incentive to cut their car use. Different means might be needed to change other drivers' behaviour; but already car culture does not seem as monolithic as before.

This article's thumbnail picture of some possible responses only skims the surface of the subject. The key is to get a better understanding of how varied car culture is. This calls for that most difficult of tasks: looking at what we take for granted everyday and questioning it. ■

Roger Bysouth *works in local government in the UK and is a freelance writer and illustrator. He owns one bike and has a Brompton on order, via his employer's tax-free cycle loan scheme.*

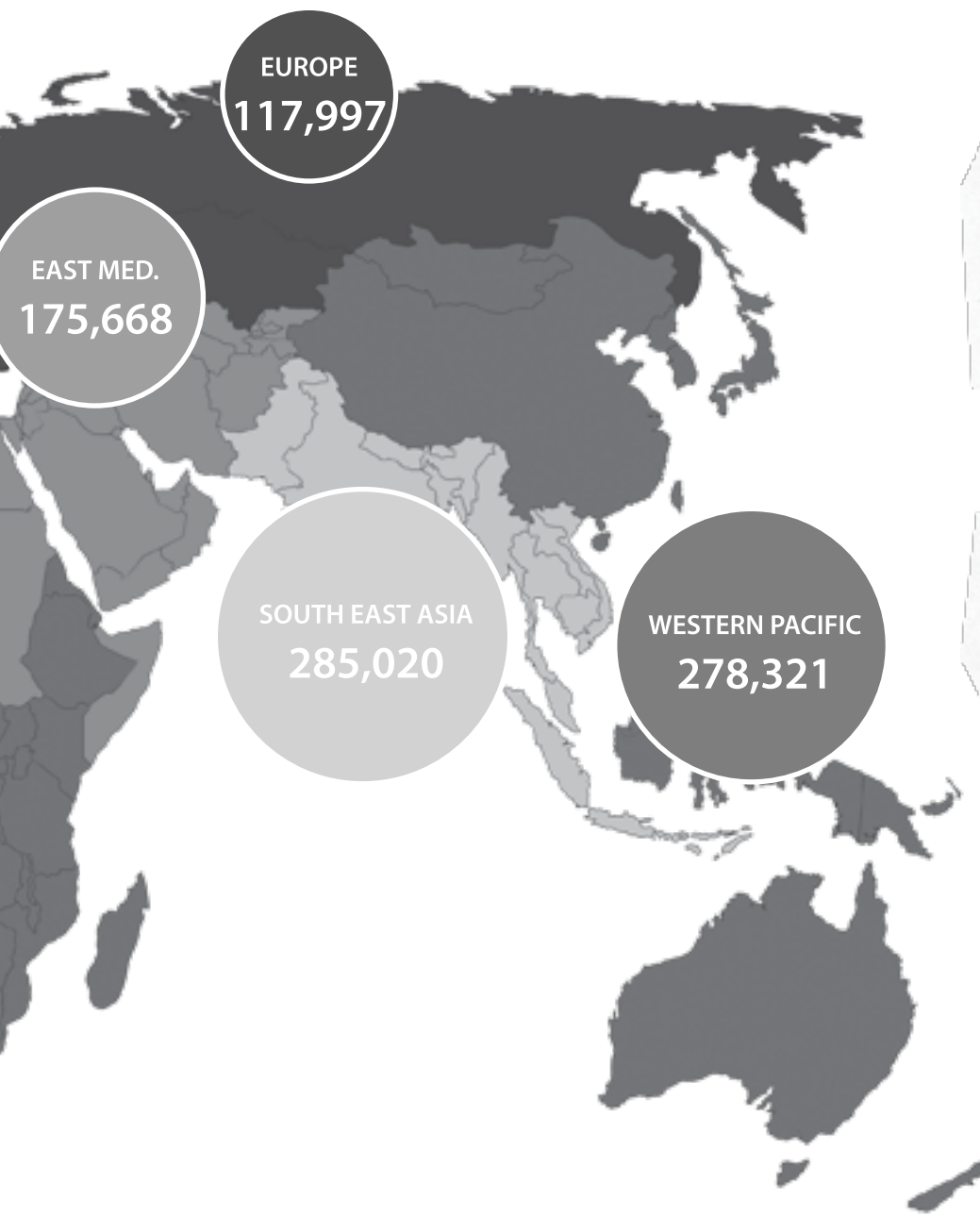
Car Deaths by World He

More than **1.2 million die** in road accidents

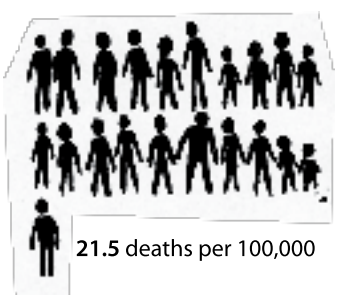


ealth Organization Region

every year. A further **50 million are injured.**

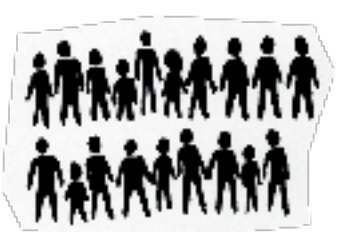


Low income countries



21.5 deaths per 100,000

Middle income countries



19.5 deaths per 100,000

High income countries

10.3 deaths per 100,000

Source: *WHO Global Status Report on Road Safety* 2009

article and photographs by | Debra Efroymson

Occupied Streets, Social Clashes:
Observations on the Bangkok Protests

When everyday events get turned on their head, interesting possibilities can emerge in the most unexpected places. So with the last winter and spring of unrest in Thailand's capital. The daily occupation of the city streets by cars goes virtually unnoticed and unchallenged, but when the cars are replaced by people, suddenly virtually the whole world takes note.

Much has been written about the Red Shirt protests – some of it even true and helpful. It is often phrased as a battle between the "haves" (represented by the yellow-shirted supporters of the current prime minister Abhisit Vejjajiva) and the red-shirted "have-nots", rallying under the name and with the sponsorship of ousted billionaire prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The protesters, many from rural areas, apparently adore Thaksin because he gave them inexpensive, even free, medical care. They occupied entire blocks at the Ratchaprasong intersection, closing down exclusive shopping malls and hotels, showing in the process how protest can open new spaces, both mental and physical.

I do not support the red, yellow or pink shirts, nor Thaksin. Neither do I wish to romanticise violence or coups d'état. But beyond the realm of the specific demand of the protesters lie many other issues, the importance of which supersedes the details of the politics.

Any event that closes the streets to cars and fills them with people – a street fair, a protest – can provide a tantalising glimpse of what the future will bring. But in the case of Bangkok during the recent protests, a few factors made it particularly instructive, as I learned in their midst.

Happening to be in Bangkok a few times in April, I felt myself irresistibly drawn to the Red Shirts' protest site. On the evening of the 10th, I took to the streets. First I found a small number of protesters with some barricades in the streets, waving light traffic through; as I continued walking, and more protesters poured to the site, I was soon enveloped in their masses. Streets I had only ever seen choked with cars were now filled with people eating, sleeping, sitting and talking. Walking amongst them for two hours, I could not help but experience waves of euphoria.

Reflecting on the experience, various issues surfaced. For one, the media consistently misleads us. While wandering into the midst of protesters was perhaps not a very smart idea, especially exactly during the time when violence broke out at another site and about two dozen people died, neither was the entire city in flames or under assault, as one might reasonably believe judging from TV and newspaper reporting. I had read that the Red Shirts have violent tendencies; this may be true, but in my wanderings among them all I got were friendly, warm smiles. And while the media reported on business being hurt and a few shopping malls were closed, vendors were doing a roaring business.

Of course media does not consider the business of street hawkers as important. Economics, it seems, is only important when the rich benefit. Consider this line from the Thai Air in-flight magazine: "In a sign that the global economy could be improving, there are now 1,011 billionaires in the world, up from 793 last year... So with the tide apparently turning, and money beginning to be made once more." The media normally shows no concern as to whether the rural poor have medical care or whether the middle class can keep their jobs; nor is it likely to support the cause of carfree cities while continuing to run pages of adverts for cars.

Cities often exclude the poor; less often, the poor can fight back.

A few months ago in Bangkok I got lost in an enormous shopping mall, Siam Paragon, and could not help but note what a vast amount of space was being dedicated to the very rich: in the majority of shops there was at most a single customer, attentively waited on by a devoted storekeeper. It was all very glitzy and clean and quiet; there were almost no people. This time Siam Paragon was closed and masses of the rural poor occupied the streets; interestingly, a shopping mall only a block away, MBK, always packed due to its simpler shops and masses of informal vendors selling inexpensive products, remained open. Red Shirts camped out in front of a closed Prada shop. At the Ratchadamri sky train stop, Red Shirts occupied the road at one side; on another, a golf course spread out luxuriously, utilised by a very few golfers.

Let's face it: space is power. In big cities an uneasy balance occurs between according space to the people and setting aside space for the wealthy; the more privatised a city becomes, the more the masses are forced into less and less of the urban space. Either the rich or the poor huddle in the centre while the other economic extreme occupies the suburbs. In the US it is the rich who occupy the suburbs, and they have full access to the city via their private cars; in cities elsewhere, it is the poor who live on the outskirts and poor quality transport grants them access to the city only at high cost. Within the city itself, priority is generally given to the car, which may even be invited to park on the sidewalk while pedestrians struggle along under the worst conditions.

Who is considered worthy of allocations of precious urban space? When the rich are clearly and consistently allotted far more than the poor, both on the streets and in the infrastructure, is violence not in a sense inevitable or in fact already occurring? Which is worse: the protest which at the time this goes to press has killed about two dozen people and injured a few hundred more, or just a few days of the Thai New Year car crashes, which according to one estimate killed 279 people and injured a further 3,185?

Whatever one's politics, when people occupy the streets it can feel like a big party. It was difficult not to grin with pleasure while drifting among the protesters, surrounded by people and mostly liberated from motorised vehicles. Thousands of people were packed in a small space in the hottest time of the year, yet I saw no sign of aggression. It felt utterly natural that people sat, walked, slept, ate, and sold goods in places usually occupied by cars, including not just the streets but a vast parking lot. Is it not exhilarating, if also troublesome, to see the poor retake the urban space which they are otherwise consistently denied?

Cars are highly effective at blocking streets. Normally in Bangkok they block each other and prevent movement by other means; here the protesters had turned the usual on its head, using cars to block the entrance to roads so that thousands could be in the streets.

Even without speaking Thai, the connections were palpable, people thriving on the human connections of a carfree space. Admittedly there could be other reasons for the excitement, though during the two hours I wandered amidst the Red Shirts their colleagues were being attacked with tear gas and rubber bullets elsewhere. Where I was, people were dancing, clasping my hand, smiling for my camera.

Fear can be crippling as well as helpful. It can protect or stifle us. Learning to overcome what we fear can be supremely powerful. Stepping into the unknown, taking a risk, can bring huge rewards. If only people could see the truth of this in terms of a carfree existence.

And while it is true that taking over the streets for weeks at a time and forcing businesses to close is not particularly democratic, it is likewise true that democracy includes a lot more than just voting, especially when politicians fail to represent the needs and aspirations of the masses. Some form of communication between the people and government is needed beyond polls. Fewer cars and more human interaction would mean more opportunity for people to express themselves.

I visited Bangkok again at the end of April. Articles in the newspapers mostly railed against the protesters and their undemocratic actions; some called them savage, vicious. One writer suggested that given the intricacies of the colour politics, people should protest like a Spencer Tunick art installation, unclothed. Again I walked the streets, passing people queued up for free food, others manning a medical booth, and vendors selling food, drinks and red insignia. Again I was reminded that long before this protest, Bangkok was already taken over by undemocratic forces that form a clash of the classes: cars. And again I was reminded that in this topsy-turvy world where it is normal for steel boxes rather than people to occupy streets, political turmoil can reveal interesting alternatives and possibilities for those willing to open their minds and reject a few standard truths. ■

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article by | Planka.nu illustrations by | Louise Hagelberg

The Traffic Hierarchy

In this article, World Carfree Network member organisation Planka.nu gives an introduction to traffic hierarchy and automobility, two theoretical tools used to understand our current mobility paradigm and its wider effects on our societies. Using this understanding as a background, the second part of the article deals with different ways of moving beyond the current state of affairs to build a more just society.

Mobility and class are deeply entangled. Not only because one's potential for mobility often has to do with one's economic position, but also because a society built on today's mobility paradigm – automobility – directly contributes to growing economic and social differences.

A society which puts the car on a pedestal quite obviously favours motorists. Another obvious fact is that white high-income and middle-aged men are an over-represented group among motorists. And the opposite is true among public transport users. But, a society that prioritises motoring, and looks at ever-growing mobility as an almost magical recipe for development, increases the differences between its citizens and different parts in other ways as well.

The current traffic hierarchy, with the car on top and with public transport, bikers and pedestrians at the bottom, manifests itself in the fact that these means of conveyance are given different amounts of space and resources. With the car on top of the traffic hierarchy we get a society built on automobility: a world where our lives, to a far too great extent, are steered by cars.

This article is written to clarify how the current traffic hierarchy manifests itself and what its consequences are: a society built on automobility does not only pose grave danger from an ecological point-of-view, it also enhances the current notions towards greater economic and social segregation. By highlighting the problems with the current traffic hierarchy and starting to map out the edges of another way of planning and handling movement we hope and believe that we can also give some clues on how to handle other societal problems.

The car is pitching us towards each other. Who has not experienced the feeling of putting oneself in a car and suddenly being transformed into a motorist? The pure act of putting oneself behind the wheel seems, for almost everyone, to lead to egotistic behavior, a situation where everyone is trying to gain something on someone else's behalf. While driving a car, one's fellow human beings (other drivers, public transport users, pedestrians, bikers) become nothing more than obstacles. Who cannot, honestly, recognise the almost aggressive and competitive feeling that the car produces in oneself? Since we do not want to encourage this kind of behaviour, and since we are confident that one is not born a motorist, but rather becomes one, we strongly believe that the risk of people becoming motorists has to be minimised.

"One is not born a motorist, but rather becomes one."

Because of this we do not only want to change the order of the traffic hierarchy and take the car down from its pedestal. Rather, we want a society built on totally different premises. A society where no one is forced into motorism, whether passively or actively. A society where proximity and availability to what people need to satisfy their needs and desires are put at the forefront.

Automobility

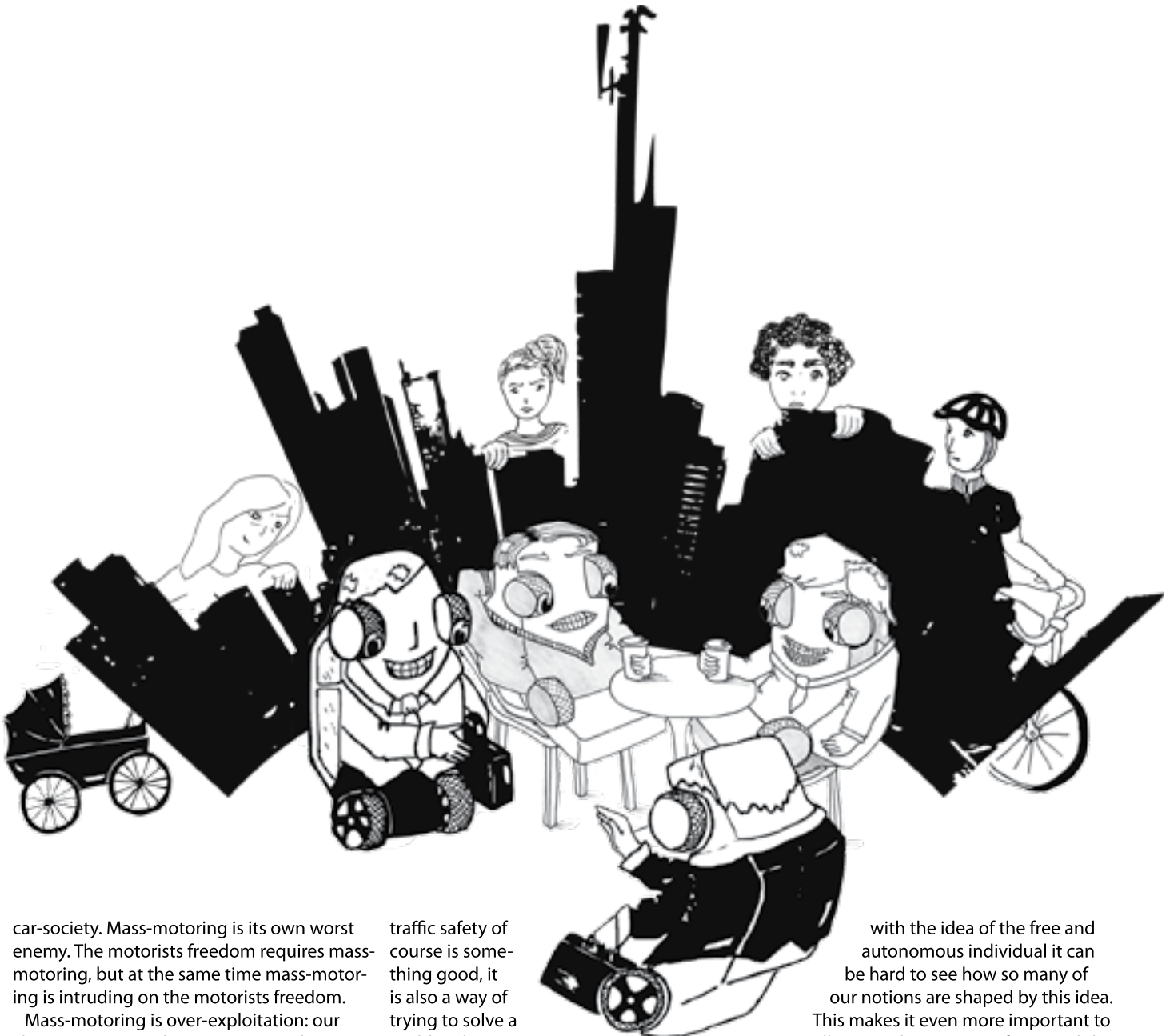
Automobility is a concept used to interpret and describe those institutions and practices that organises, supports and shapes the cars movement through, and its impact on, our societies. It is also the name of the discourse used to legitimise the car as society's engine of progress by connecting it with ideas about freedom, development, individuality, and independence. Automobility is, in short, one of the founding socio-technological institutions through which modernity is organised.

Automobility is a compound of the words autonomy and mobility, and of course something of a pun since auto might as well be read as automobile. In this context it shall be understood as connected to autonomy, and as a concept to describe our societies view on mobility and autonomy: you achieve independence through mobility, and true mobility can only be achieved independently. Ideas strongly connected to the liberal ideology that proclaims us all as individuals – free to choose our own way of life – an ideology that in its most extreme form denies the very existence of society. But, just as the idea of the free individual is created and maintained by a specific formation of society, the idea of automobility needs to be produced and maintained. Without roads, the auto-industry and the oil-industry no one would use cars. Automobility is a self-contradiction in so far as motorists are not at all free to choose their own ways, but rather have to drive on roads built and planned by politicians, to workplaces, and from homes, located in specific places for political and economical reasons.

It is rather ironic that the car to such great extent has come to be known as the key to freedom and individuality, that it has become something of the holy grail for modern liberalism, when it is in fact so interlocked with a range of public as well as private systems of control. A countless number of regulations have to be in place to make mass-motoring function even as badly as it does today: how fast you can drive, where you can drive, in which direction you should drive, where you can stop, how much your car can emit and how safe it has to be are just a few examples of the regulations surrounding you every time you seat yourself in a car. To make this function, an enormous regime of control has to be in place to discipline drivers as well as non-drivers to behave accordingly and obey the rules. The freedom on the road has developed hand-in-hand with a deepening of the control of movement.

The current regime of automobility carries a number of unsolvable, and inherent, destructive tendencies.

Mass-motoring is congestion: automobility is based on a society which subsidises and encourages all of its citizens to travel by car, but if everyone does that automobilty soon turns into immobility. Traffic jams and gridlocks are the logical consequence of a



car-society. Mass-motoring is its own worst enemy. The motorists freedom requires mass-motoring, but at the same time mass-motoring is intruding on the motorists freedom.

Mass-motoring is over-exploitation: our climate, our natural resources, ourselves, our cities, even the whole geo-political system has been hit by acute crises because of mass-motoring. The climatic changes gallop in tune to the roaring of engines, our cities are consumed by cars that leave less and less space for those living in them. Finite oil production and peak oil lead to geo-political crises, even wars, to maintain access to cheap oil. Not to speak of the more than 1.2 million people killed every year as a direct result of traffic accidents.

It is important to call attention to the fact that the problems mentioned above are not some occasional disruptions in an otherwise well-functioning system. Because it is in fact the opposite: this is the normal, day-to-day, functioning of the system. Our roads and cars, built to support automobility, are killing over 3,000 persons every single day. But when was the last time you heard someone in power criticising mass-motoring as a system? That someone in the current political climate should proclaim a war on motoring appears totally unrealistic. Even though traffic safety of course is something good, it is also a way of trying to solve a problem by curing its symptoms instead of its causes. Car related deaths are apparently not seen as a political issue, rather there is a total resignation to these murder machines swarming our planet.

It is quite obvious that automobility is neither rational nor, in reality, a well-functioning system to organise movement. But that is not enough – even on a conceptual level it is, in itself, an impossibility. What is made out to be a system of freedom and independence is in fact based upon an intricate web of control.

Public Mobility

Even though the concept of automobility is strongly connected with mass-motoring it is important to understand how these thoughts affect all parts of how we plan our societies. Automobility is based on an interpretation of the car-society, but can and should be used to understand how we view the individual and her rights and possibilities to move around. In a society so fixated with the idea of the free and autonomous individual it can be hard to see how so many of our notions are shaped by this idea. This makes it even more important to really grasp the concept of automobility and apply it when planning society. The concept of automobility is, when used correctly, a great tool to analyse society and to understand how traffic planning can be used to conduct radical and green politics.

To use a hands-on example on how automobility can be used as a radical tool of interpretation we turn to the debate around pod cars, but the same arguments and interpretations can of course be used to understand other subjects as well.

To summarise the discussions about pod cars: we acknowledge a problem, car traffic stands for a growing share of our carbon dioxide emissions and contributes greatly to the deterioration of our cities. Public transport is said to be the cure for cars, but how do we get people to use it? Our gut feeling often tells us that to control motorism we should adapt the public transport to the needs of the motorist – when it is in fact just those needs that are the problem. Pod cars might, with an emphasis on might, entice some people to leave their car at home. But

will they change the structure of our cities? Hardly!

It is not so surprising that certain people from the green parties, liberals and the pod car industry advocate pod cars and by doing so enforce the idea of automobility. To detach the idea of the individual from a broader context – society – is a liberal project. But a radical movement that strives for real change must have as a virtue to always try to think one step further. And someone who does not challenge the liberal idea of automobility is not someone who wants to travel somewhere unseen.

"A start is not to just accept, but to happily affirm the public in public transport."

The idea of the free individual with power to rule over his own life is a product of a certain society, and so is the idea of automobility. It is dependent on the politics that creates it, defines its limits and masks its inherent antagonism: namely that your mobility is based on somebody else's immobility. The car is only the key to freedom as long as society is left uncounted for, hence all car adverts taking place in the desert or on empty mountain roads.

Instead of changing public transport to fit the needs of the motorist we should expand it. Instead of trying to individualise it we should strengthen its function as the social hub our lives and society revolves around.

If we, as a modern, green and radical left want to change our societies we have to challenge our heritage of putting too much faith in "development." We must challenge ideas such as that one car each should have something to do with freedom or equality. We have to begin thinking about how to transform our societies in a direction where less mobility is needed. This does not mean that we should stop moving, but that repetitive, meaningless commuting should decline and that we should try to organise the travelling required from the knowledge that we all, together, constitute society.

A start is not to just accept, but to happily affirm the public in public transport.

Now we have come so far as to have identified a huge problem in how we view the relation between traffic, politics and cities, but how should we move on to solve this problem? In the long run we have to move away from today's mobility paradigm and replace it with something like a proximity or accessibility paradigm. Instead of having one road administration and one rail administration we could introduce an accessibility administration which would look at the broader picture when developing or rebuilding cities, so that availability to what people need to satisfy their needs and desires are put at the forefront. An administration that does not see mobility as something good or desirable in itself.

This is something that will take a long time to see the impact of, and demands big changes in the way we plan and build our cities. But in the meantime there are a lot of smaller changes to be done to reduce car-traffic and increase the share of trips made with public transport, on foot or by bike.

One suggestion, put forward by a commission appointed by the American congress is to complement the gasoline tax with a vehicle miles traveled tax. A tax which could be used to show that it is not only the emissions from cars that is the problem, but rather that the problem lies in the sole act of driving.

We can learn from Copenhagen, where they have gradually removed parking lots and car lanes, which has rendered a reduction in car traffic that has been easy for drivers to cope with since they have been given a reasonable amount of time to change their ways of getting around. While the number of cars has been reduced, the number of people moving around in the city centre has not. By reducing the amount of parking spaces with around two percent per year space has been freed to use for human activities such as pedestrian streets, bike lanes, public squares and street side cafes.

Other substantial, cheap and relatively easy to implement measures to reduce car-traffic are: congestion charges (given that the surplus is invested in public transport), an expansion of the network of pedestrian streets

and less car lanes to make room for separate lanes for buses and bikes. We should also aim to better control illegal parking and build or expand systems of public bikes to integrate them with public transport.

Another way of making public transport more attractive to motorists is to make it fare free. By doing this, one also demonstrates how public transport, in itself, is sort of the antithesis to automobility. By making public transport free at the point of entry it takes on a qualitatively different shape, it becomes a true public space, a social and common wealth for all to use. Where the car is a private space and every new driver becomes an obstacle for the other motorists, public transport is a social space which grows and becomes better the more people are using it.

By making public transport free and available for everyone we are truly realising the potential for public transport as common space. When we are emphasising the public in public transport we are doing so because we love to live with people around us. But also because a living public space is a prerequisite for people to feel safe and to use it: individual vulnerableness diminishes when we are surrounded by other people. Public transport should be an integrated part of the society we all are living in, and should therefore reflect its plurality of social relations and be available and inviting to all of its citizens.

Accessibility

Now that we have identified the problems with the current mobility paradigm and shown what measures to take to start to replace car-traffic with public and social ways of moving around it is time to discuss the bigger question: how do we change our way of planning from mobility to accessibility?

First and foremost, we must recapture the belief in politics. We need to regain public control over our cities so that we, together, can decide to say no when private interests want to exploit and build in ways that will ruin the possibilities of planning for a good city structure. We must revitalise our local communities that have been totally shredded by mass-motoring, separating of functions, privatisation and segregation. But without a belief in the political capacity to heal these wounds we can not even start to dream of a different city.

An important step is to fully integrate public transport in the city planning, since both of them affect and are affected by each other. By controlling the city's spatial expansion we get the opportunity to minimise the number of necessary trips that have to be taken, and also make sure that the public transport becomes a viable option for all citizens.

People speak a lot about the "flâneur city" today, more or less everyone seems to agree that our inner cities are in acute need of redevelopment. Less cars, more trams, bikers and revitalised public space are on the agenda. There is of course nothing wrong with this, but why is the focus always on the inner city? Most of us are living in the suburbs and the change has to start where we live. What we need is not more Jan Gehl-inspired changes of the inner cities occupied by the urban middle classes – or rather – those changes will happen anyways, so let us concentrate on other things.

To be able to defy the current mobility paradigm and start to build cities where everyones access to the good things in society is put at the centre, we have to start in our own suburbs. Of course we should learn from the best practices of inner city redevelopment, but the challenge in changing our suburbs are so much bigger than to make a few inner city pedestrian streets.

Exactly where to start is of course a question related to time and place, but it has to be connected to us living in the suburbs and our needs and wants. Lately we have seen a surge in community organising as a response to the closing and externalisation of local services. To cut down on public services such as schools as well as local stores is a logical consequence of a society obsessed with movement. That is also why the fight for living communities is so inspiring, and we should aim to develop and connect every single struggle for a local swimming hall or kindergarten, and understand them as struggles for everyones opportunity to satisfy their basic needs and desires where they live. Seen in this way all of these disparate attempts of community organising can also be understood as working against automobility: as fights to stop the process where more and more local services are shut down with the motivation that people can transport themselves to similar services in other places.

By fighting for small improvements in the suburbs where we live we are also fighting against our dependency on transport. But just as much as this is a question of mobility, it is also a question of class. By recovering our local centres we can stop the current development where quality is segregated to inner cities. By introducing a principle of proximity for public services we are in extension making the overall quality of them better. Instead of making it possible for the better-off to pay extra and commute to a better school, a revitalisation of proximity makes everyone organise for improvement where they live. In simple words: by letting the middle class in the residential area share schools and other public services with people from the blocks of rental apartments we are guaranteeing a raise in quality for everyone.

All of these changes also contributes to making our suburbs more lively even during those times of day when people are not going to or from work. Livable suburbs reduce our travelling needs and make us feel more safe than any private security guards, gated communities or surveillance cameras can do. The main source of feeling safe is to have people around us, it is actually no more complicated than that.

By filling our cities with open and welcoming public spaces we are filling our cities with life. By filling our cities with life we are making ourselves more open and welcoming. Changes in our cities render changes in our behaviour towards each other.

"A city disintegrated by meaningless and imposed movement are also disintegrating our lives."

Instead of looking at commuting and other trips as something we "have to do," something separated from other activities, we should see how they are connected with our means of living good lives. A city disintegrated by meaningless and imposed movement are also disintegrating our lives. A broken town is shattering our lives into different, disparate, pieces and alienates us from each other and ourselves. A society where everything has to have its own space and its own time – sleep, work, learn, play, shop, socialise – diminishes our ways of living.

This separation of functions may, just like the division of labour, be the dream of a planner or a manager, but it is time to face the fact that we have let this go way too far. Because who does not want to be able to play, learn and work at the same time – and in the same place? ■

***Planka.nu** is a Swedish network of commuter organisations working for free public transport, they are also very active in the Swedish anti-highway movement. Read more of their english articles on http://planka.nu/rapporter*

Start at Transport Stops

In the last article, we examined the need for better cycling and walking. Here we turn to the question of where to begin carfree conversions and how to increase density in the carfree areas. The strategy is simple and obvious: start at the transport stops and gradually expand the carfree areas as alternatives to cars and trucks become readily available.

The matter of increasing the density of the building stock is more complex and specific to a particular city, but the methods are simple and well known. Narrowing streets and reclaiming the space for buildings is not too difficult, although it is almost never done. If the city owns the land, its sale becomes a major source of money.

In all likelihood, most conversions of existing cities will be based on trams (light rail, etc.) running in the streets, if only because the cost of building underground metros in existing urban areas is extremely high. As pointed out in an earlier article, large-scale conversions will have to begin with the establishment of a route network for new public transport service. (In a few cities, existing service will suffice, but even in Manhattan some additional service would be necessary.)

This leads to the construction of new tram lines across the city. Unless the conversion can wait until the new tram lines are built and operating, it will be necessary to start operating the routes with buses. Since the routes are most likely to follow existing major streets, we will find it necessary to remove all car traffic from those streets. Buses will run near the curbs, leaving the middle of the street free for tram-line construction. Keeping cars out of these streets will permit the buses to run without interference from car traffic, which is essential to on-time performance for surface-running public transport.

Given that these streets will have to be made carfree at the start, and given that the areas near the transport stops will be the most valuable, the first conversions should be in the few blocks adjacent to each stop. These are the locations where density will be increased, so that the maximum number of people can live and work as close to a transport stop as possible. By establishing large populations close to each transport stop, it becomes possible to run frequent service that is heavily used and has a relatively low per-passenger operating cost.

The remaining streets will initially remain open to at least some level of motor vehicle traffic. This will permit freight deliveries to be made by truck to streets near the carfree areas. Handcarts can be used to deliver goods the last hundred or so metres. It would also be possible to permit some residents of the area to park a car on these streets. However, a shortage of parking will arise when the tram-route streets are closed to cars, and people who do not live in the neighbourhood may no longer be permitted to park in it, or possibly even to enter it.

Part of the master plan will involve the provision of an interchange area, preferably at the edge of the city, where drivers from rural areas can park their cars and switch to public transport. These facilities would ideally be built early in the process, so that they are in operation by the time the trams begin to run.

How far out from each stop should the initial carfree area extend? This is a difficult issue, because access by vehicles cannot yet be entirely eliminated until the new infrastructure is complete and until the permanent freight delivery system is in operation. This suggests that the walking distance from the transport stop to the edge of the carfree district might not exceed three minutes in the first phase. This translates to a little more than 200 metres, not as the crow flies but as the pedestrian walks. This is an important point, because it is unlikely that the existing street pattern will be a radial arrangement centered on the transport stop. Most cities are built on grids, which are not ideal for carfree arrangements. Every effort should be made to establish pedestrian shortcuts across blocks so as to shorten trips on foot.

"Provide access by proximity, not by mobility."

As mentioned earlier in this series, discouraging car traffic can be done in many different ways. This effort should begin as early as possible and should be pursued vigorously. As long as it is possible to do something without using a car, using the car should be made slow, difficult, and expensive. This requires a major change in attitude, because it stands the current car-centred paradigm on its head.

Some cities are arranged in a particularly useful manner for our purposes. These are

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"As long as it is possible to do something without using a car, using the car should be made slow, difficult, and expensive."

places, such as New Orleans, that have "superblocks." These are merely large blocks, delineated by wide streets, that contain small blocks delineated by narrower streets. Public transport can be established along the major streets, and the quiet back streets can gradually be converted to carfree areas.

Increase density and reduce street width

Most cities will require increased population densities near transport stops in order to support the high quality of public transport that is required. There are a few notable exceptions, such as Manhattan and Hong Kong, where density actually exceeds by a considerable margin the density required to support good public transport. Elsewhere, buildings will have to be built taller (up to a few stories) and streets will have to be made narrower. These two actions can sufficiently increase density while also freeing up some land for green space out at the edges.

Essential to any well-functioning carfree area is the mixing of uses. Residences, shops, services, schools and workplaces must all be located in every neighbourhood. This minimises the amount of time spent traveling: we provide access by proximity, not by mobility. This is the most difficult point for existing North American suburbs. Zoning prohibited mixed uses, with the result that most trips are beyond walking distance. Make sure that essential goods and services are within walking distance.

In most jurisdictions, this change will require changes in local regulations. Buildings above two stories are not permitted in many places. Buildings are often required to be separated from their neighbours by certain minimum distances, and setback from streets is usually required. Parking and access requirements for cars preclude the necessary changes. No progress can be made without a change in regulation. The support of the local government is thus essential.

In areas that already have a somewhat urban quality, with buildings that abut one another, the effective width of the street can be reduced by allowing buildings to extend into the area above the existing sidewalk, thereby creating arcades. The arcade is a wonderful device in carfree cities, as it provides good protection from rain. It also makes a nice transition between the openness of the street and the confinement of the buildings.

In some cities, streets are so wide that rows of new buildings can be constructed down the middle of the street, creating two narrow streets in place of one broad street intended for cars. It is difficult to grasp this concept because we have become so accustomed to the 6, 8, and even 10 lane streets that dominate life in cities of the automobile age.

The process is not as simple as it might first appear, as utilities are buried beneath the street. Moving utilities so that buildings can be constructed in the middle of the street is a messy, complex, expensive and time-consuming process. At best, this will be achieved over a span of decades. In the mean time, we can create the narrow, comfortable streets we seek by placing one- or two-story buildings in the street. These can be semi-permanent structures that are easy to move. They are light enough that they need only be tied down against wind and earthquake. The street itself can serve as the foundation.

One intriguing possibility is to construct lightweight metal buildings using the excess capacity of the automotive industry. This would retain jobs in this hard-hit sector while providing useful employment. I regret to say that I have never quite worked out the details of how this might be accomplished. If it is not feasible, the manufactured-housing industry ought to be able to supply the buildings we need using well-established techniques. I don't see any intrinsic reason that these buildings must be as ugly as they usually are.

In the next and final installment in this series, we will consider the creation of new public squares and the provision of additional green space adjacent to densely-populated urban areas. ■

interview by | Alexander Berthelsen

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Train Talk

Interview with Margrethe Sagevik

Margrethe Sagevik works as Senior Adviser on Sustainable Development for the International Union of Railways (UIC). Carbusters called her up to talk about the "Train to Copenhagen" campaign, the world of sustainable transport after COP15 and the future of the rail business.

Could you tell us a little about UIC and your position there?
UIC is the global organisation for cooperation between and promotion of railways, and has a strong tradition of working on sustainability issues, both by supporting members in improving their sustainability performance and communicating on the sector level towards external key stakeholders. I belong to the Sustainable Development team in Paris. My responsibilities are within sustainable mobility and climate change, and I am chair of the UIC Sustainable Mobility Expert Network. My work includes developing indicators and tools to report on sustainability performance and progress of railways, as well as promoting rail towards key international stakeholders such as the United Nations.

In the run up to COP15 you were campaigning to put attention on the important role that trains have to play in a sustainable modal shift for the transport sector. How was the response?
The response to our communication campaign "Train to Copenhagen" in the run up towards COP15 in Copenhagen was overwhelming and extremely encouraging! The main reason for this was that we were partnering up with WWF, UN and its "Seal the Deal" campaign. It's one thing when the rail sector says that it is a part of the solution, and another thing when influential partners support that message. Together we reached a large audience mainly through the media, but also through our trains and stations.

Since there was no deal in Copenhagen, how have you proceeded afterwards? Are you still focusing on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and what other institutions are you approaching?
We still consider UNFCCC an important platform for promoting change. Another important platform, especially this year, is the United Nations Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) that is reviewing existing transport policies in 2010. In 2011 CSD will launch new transport policies, and it is important that rail's role as the back bone of sustainable mobility is included there. Most of all we believe in cooperation, alliances and bridge building. Therefore we also support initiatives gathering many organisations working together for low carbon and sustainable transport solutions and policy development such as SloCat and Bridging the Gap.

During COP15 there was a lot of talk about the "Avoid-Shift-Improve" scheme; could you elaborate a bit on that?
"Avoid-Shift-Improve" refers to three main strategies to reduce emissions from the transport sector. Transport is causing nearly one quarter of the global CO2-emissions. If you look into where these emissions actually come from, you will see that the road sector has the lion's share with nearly 75 percent. "Avoid" refers to unnecessary transport. "Shift" refers to the move we have to make towards low carbon solutions, and here rail is ready to take its responsibility as the back bone of sustainable mobility. "Improve" refers to the emission reductions needed by all transport modes. UIC is, for example, working very hard to continuously improve the rail sector's low carbon performance via several projects and activities including both technical and operational measures.

How do you look at the relation between trains, cars and other modes of transport, and how does this affect your approach to trying to get more trains on the tracks?
I believe the solution for the transport sector is to develop smart transport systems, where the sustainability advantages of each mode is

exploited and combined in one joint system, including rail and cars. Rail offers the backbone of such systems with its low carbon performance, its low external costs, as well as offering access to mobility and quality of life to people. Of course, the rail sector is working to provide more attractive train services and solutions, including more trains, in order to ensure that customers actually prefer and choose train when possible.

How do you see the future for the train industry? What positive developments are on the way and what obstacles are there to increasing the modal share for trains?
The main obstacles to increase the modal share of rail are the economy and policy making that does not take the external costs of transport into account. As I see it, the future of the train industry and sector depends on brave, well-informed and long-sighted policy-making that is based on a cross sectoral approach. I think, as for most aspects in life, we are best when we work together. Access to mobility and transportation reach into most aspects of our society and should therefore not be handled by transport decision-makers alone. I do hope and think that a positive outcome of the economic crisis is that we might be forced to realise that we need a paradigm shift in order to ensure a sustainable development, including the transport sector.

For the rail industry and sector itself – in addition to ensuring the continuous improvement of the train product – it has to work closer with its electricity suppliers in order to ensure a green energy supply in the future as electrified trains will always be as green as the energy fed into them.

Finally, do you have any advice for carfree advocates on how trains can be used as a way to approach carfreeness, both from a planning and advocating perspective?
I would first of all congratulate all carfree advocates for their guts, as you are promoting a lifestyle that challenges our lifestyle, our personal freedom, as we know it today, and that is brave! You also put pressure on trains as you most probably depend more on train services than people with cars – which is of course very good! Keep on inspiring us to perform better! If I should give you further advice I think it is important to stay open for people who are not (yet) into your way of thinking, to listen to and to try to understand them – in order to facilitate good and constructive dialogues where you speak with each other and not against each other. Taking into account the predictions from UNEP stating that the world's car fleet is expected to reach 3 billion cars in the not too distant future, compared to 1 billion today, your arguments are of increasing importance! Keep up the good work, and let's keep on exploring on how we can work together! ■

Carjacked

The Culture of the Automobile and Its Effect on Our Lives

Catherine Lutz and Anne Lutz Fernandez

Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 254 pages, ISBN 9780230618138

If you are solidly or fervently in the carfree camp, this book might exasperate you. Despite the edgy first word in the title, this book is not edgy – it's gentle. While it offers suggestions for changing the "car system" in America, it does so in a polite, muted way: "We need to rethink what we truly need and reclaim the control and freedom we like to imagine the car has given us." They are not calling for radical change. Instead, these sisters, who lost a cousin and a close friend in car crashes, write about lessening the negative aspects of cars while still owning a car.

"Perhaps this book is radical. It might just sneak up on some unsuspecting drivers…"

The book is well researched and includes many stick-in-your-head details: the average American spends 18.5 hours a week in their car, all the parking spaces in the USA could fill the state of Georgia, car makers spend the equivalent of US$630 on advertising per car sold. The chapters focus on describing the current car system, addressing the downsides (money wasted, lives lost, kilos gained, social inequities created) in a gently relentless way. I enjoyed chapter 2 the most, where they looked at the stories Americans tell themselves about cars (they give us freedom, individuality, status etc.) and poked holes in each myth. Each chapter ends with a suggestion for change, though it's made quickly and without much detail, such as: "The one thing we can do today to help keep our families healthy is to make the conscious decision to drive less." The final chapter presents an array of suggestions such as log your driving miles, sell your second or third car, delay your teen's driving, shop on the Internet and support transportation advocacy groups. I appreciate that they address multiple approaches to changing car culture from buying smaller, used cars and driving less to making driving safer and getting politically involved in transportation issues.

Folks who live without a car are not portrayed in flattering ways. "Carless adults," they write, "cope with the anxiety or guilt of relying on others for rides or the shame of seeming somehow immature, inadequate, or incompetent." Riding a bike or walking instead of driving is suggested as a possibility but only for short trips when the weather is nice and the air quality is good. (I wouldn't leave home for weeks at a time if I followed these guidelines!) But they didn't write this book for me or anyone else carfree. They wrote it for the millions of people who haven't given much thought to how they could get around differently. The reviewers on Amazon lauded the book as engaging and thoughtful and noted that it had altered their perspective. Perhaps then this book, in its own way, is radical. It might just sneak up on some unsuspecting drivers and jump start them into rethinking their car. ■

BOOKS

ALICE IN UNDERLAND
Wolfgang Zuckermann, 1999, 88 pages
US$10, EUR 7, £6, or CZK 180
A curious mixture of nonsense, social satire and surrealist fairytale, takes the classical Alice through the dreary landscape of suburban America.

ASPHALT NATION
How the Automobile Took Over America and How We Can Take It Back
Jane Holtz Kay, 1998, 440 pages
US$29, EUR 20, £18, or CZK 520
Asphalt Nation is a powerful examination of how the car has ravaged America's cities and landscape over the past 100 years, together with a compelling strategy for reversing our dependency. Demonstrating that there are economic, political, personal and architectural solutions to the problem, Kay shows that radical change is possible.

CAR SICK
Lynn Sloman, 2006, 192 pages
US$29, EUR 20, £18, or CZK 520
"Cars cause environmental destruction, provoke stress and tear the heart out of communities. *Car Sick* provides a page-turning account of how we got into this mess, and more importantly, charts an attractive way out." - T. Juniper, Friends of the Earth

CUTTING YOUR CAR USE
Save Money, Be Healthy, Be Green!
Anna Semlyen, 2007, 96 pages
US$12, EUR 8, £7, or CZK 210
A personal traffic reduction guide available in UK or US version. Packed with easy-to-follow, best practice advice. For anyone who wants to cut their car use, or give it up completely.

END OF THE ROAD
Wolfgang Zuckermann, 1991, 300 pages
US$10, EUR 7, £6, or CZK 180
There are half a billion cars on the planet, and this book takes a long, hard look at the contrast between the image and the reality of this fact. Zuckermann offers 33 "ways out" of our car dependence, including pedestrianisation, alternative transport, restructuring public transport.

FAMILY MOUSE BEHIND THE WHEEL
Wolfgang Zuckermann, 1992, 30 pages, hardcover
US$10, EUR 7, £6, or CZK 180
Colourful illustrated book that teaches children the problems of car culture through the eyes of a family of mice who decide to buy a car, with all the consequences.

FOR LOVE OF THE AUTOMOBILE
Looking Back Into th History of our Desires
Wolfgang Sachs, 1992, 227 pages, hardcover
US$56, EUR 38, £34, or CZK 990
Examining the history of the automobile from the late 1880s to the present, Sachs shows how the car gave form to the dreams and desires embedded in modern society and in so doing reshaped our very notions of time and space, our individual and societal values, and our outlook onprogress and the future. In sum: an excellent and detailed cultural history of the car.

LIFE BETWEEN BUILDINGS
Jan Gehl, 2001, 202 pages
US$40, EUR 27, £24, or CZK 720
First published in 1971, this book is still the best source for understanding how people use urban public spaces. *Life Between Buildings* is the undisputed introduction to the interplay between design and social life.

PUBLIC SPACES - PUBLIC LIFE
Jan Gehl and Lars Gemzøe, 1996, 96 pages
US$49, EUR 33, £30, or CZK 870
Describes the remarkable improvements in Copenhagen, capital of Denmark, over the past 34 years, and how they were accomplished.

THE AGE OF THE BICYCLE
Miriam Webster, 1998, 270 pages
US$15, EUR 10, £9, or CZK 270
"What if one afternoon all the cars in the world slowed down and then stopped in their tracks... soon tea shops burgeoned on the interstates... rush-hour traffic went by on bicycles at an average speed of eight miles an hour..."

THE LITTLE DRIVER [Special Offer!]
Martin Wagner, 2003, 56 pages
US$7, EUR 4.5, £4, or CZK 105
A children's book for young and old, *The Little Driver* takes a fresh look at our obsession with cars through the eyes of a boy still young enough to take nothing for granted.

CARTOONS

CARtoons
Andy Singer, 2001, 100 pages
Book: US$10, EUR 7, £6, or CZK 180
CD-ROM: US$5, EUR 3.50, £3, or CZK 90
Optional CD-ROM contains high-resolution TIF images of all graphics
A personal and provocative look at our relationship with the car, from Ford's first assembly lines to today's "drive-through" society. Features seven pithy chapter texts and a compilation of hard-hitting quotations, plus 90 of Singer's infamous graphics.

ROADKILL BILL [Special Offer!]
Ken Avidor, 2001, 108 pages
US$7, EUR 4.5, £4, or CZK 105
It's the comic strip that looks at cars, technology and philosophy from the viewpoint of a frequently squashed rodent. In *Roadkill Bill*, the wonderful, provocative, amusing and sometimes gruesome cartoons are collected together for the first and only time. Avidor gives voice to the suffering soul of humanity that feels bulldozed and paved over by industrial technology run amok.
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DVD

CARAVAN/PRAGUE
2007, 76 min., DVD, US$20, EUR 13, CZK 320
A bicycle caravan travels across Europe to shut down the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank. It will function without money, without leaders, and without permission from any authority. The police have other ideas…

STILL WE RIDE!
In Tandem Productions, 2005, 37 min., DVD
US$20, EUR 14, £12, or CZK 360
This action-packed documentary is a glimpse into the shocking showdown between the monthly Critical Mass bike ride and New York City police in the months after the Republican National Convention in August 2004.

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One: *US$1.25, EUR 0.85, £0.65, or CZK 22*
Ten: *US$9, EUR 6, £5, or CZK 165*
Fourty-six centimeters long. Bright red.
These big glossy vinyl stickers are just the right size to go under the word "STOP" on stop signs.

T-SHIRTS

"NO CARS"
US$12, EUR 8, £7, or CZK 210
White T-shirt with the "cars-forbidden" traffic sign on it. Unisex and woman style, in sizes M, L, XL.

"CARFREE" & "SKULL"
US$12, EUR 8, £7, or CZK 210
"Carfree" in white ink on black or light blue shirt; in black ink on red shirt. "Skull" in white ink on black shirt; in black ink on red shirt; unisex: S, M, L, XL; woman style: S, M, L

"PIGEONS" & "AUTONOSAUR"
US$ 15, EUR 12, or CZK 300
"Pigeons" and "Autonosaur"; unisex: green or natural in S,M,L,XL; women's style: green or blue in S,M,L.

JOIN THE WORLD CARFREE NETWORK

Our joint carfree vision is only as strong as the people who support us. By joining and donating to WCN you'll strengthen the voice of the movement that's committed to defending our right to a sound, sustainable future.

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US$40/EUR30/GBP25_ includes a one-year magazine subscription, an assortment of bike stickers and one of these treats: Selection of CB's back issues (4 copies), Ken Avidor's Roadkill Bill **or** Martin Wagner's The Little Driver. (circle one)

☐ I WANT TO BE A **SUPPORTER**
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☐ Cross here if you don't want to receive our monthly email news bulletin.

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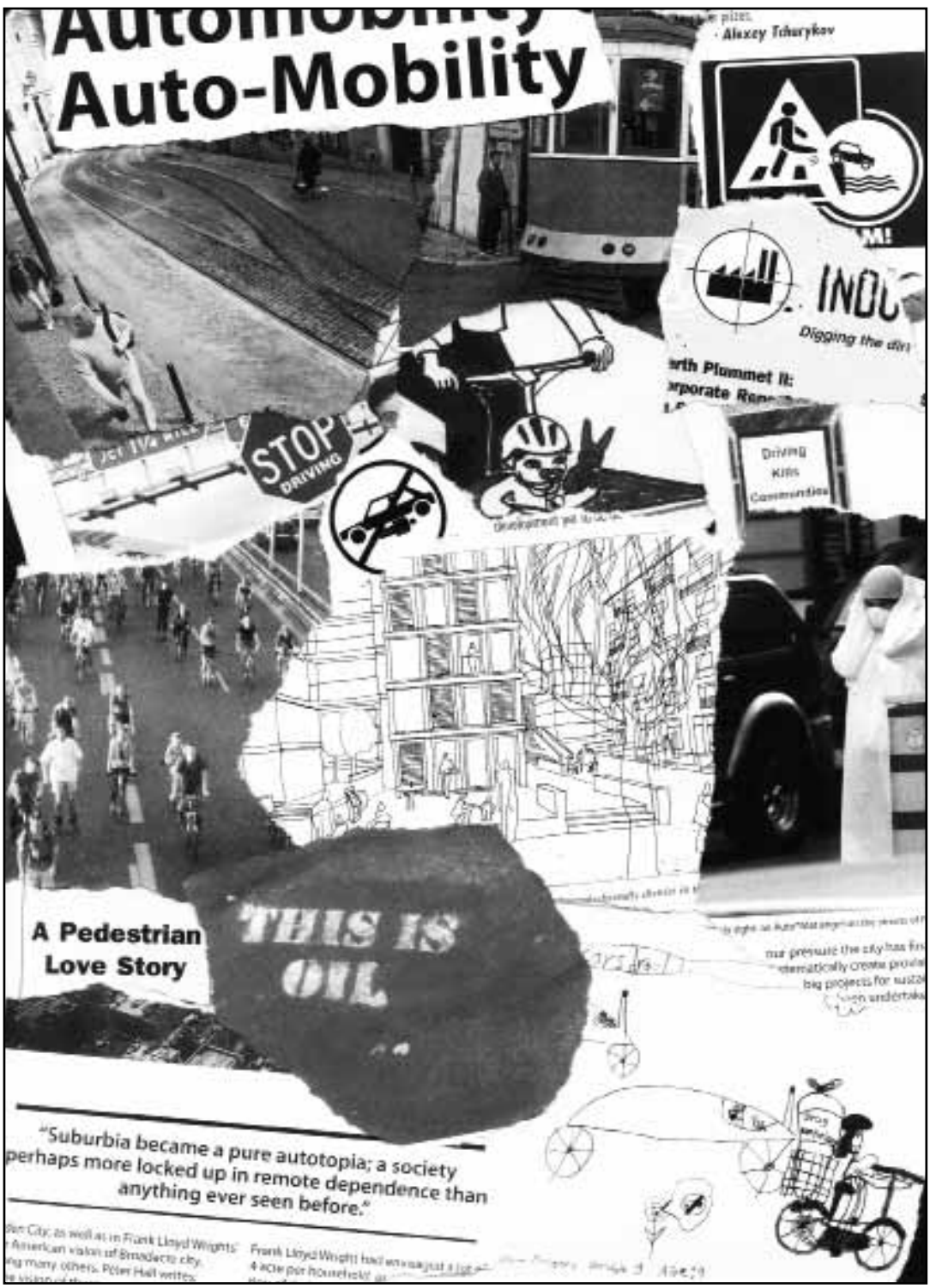
Auto-Mobility
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STOP DRIVING
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THIS IS OIL
"Suburbia became a pure autotopia; a society perhaps more locked up in remote dependence than anything ever seen before."

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